

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

Edited by
HENRY T. ROWELL

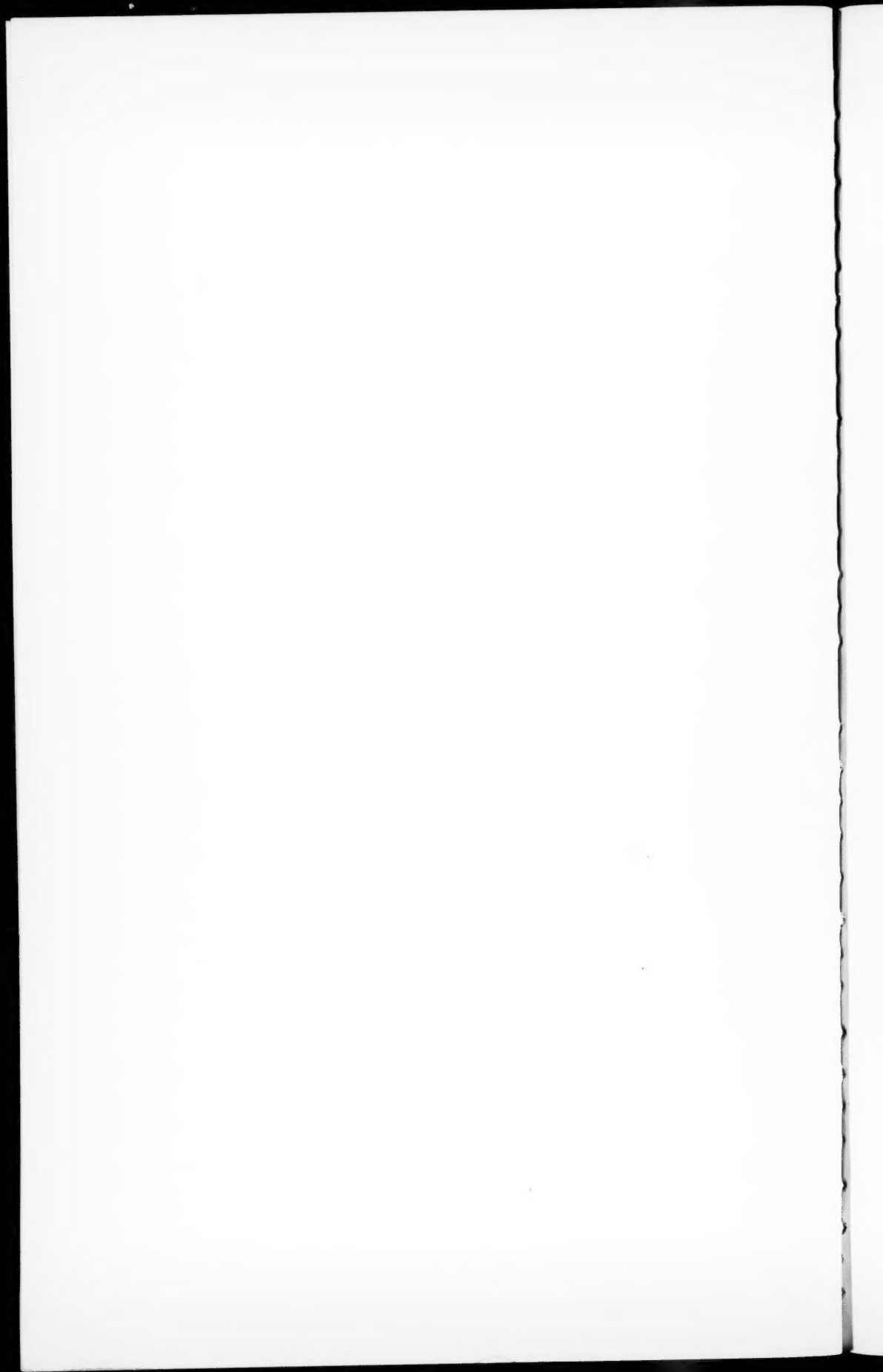
LUDWIG EDELSTEIN, JAMES H. OLIVER
JAMES W. POULTNEY, JOHN H. YOUNG
EVELYN H. CLIFT: Secretary

Honorary Editors
KEMP MALONE
BENJAMIN D. MERITT

VOLUME LXXXI

BALTIMORE: THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
LONDON: ARTHUR F. BIRD
PARIS: ALBERT FONTEMOING LEIPZIG: F. A. BROCKHAUS

1960



CONTENTS OF VOLUME LXXXI.

No. 321.

	PAGE
The Musical Setting of Euripides' <i>Orestes</i> . By DOUGLAS D. FEAVER,	1
The Oscan <i>Cippus Abellanus</i> : A New Interpretation. By ERNST PULGRAM, - - - - -	16
Tacitus' Technique of Character Portrayal. By STEPHEN G. DAITZ,	30
The Interpretation of Plato, <i>Timaeus</i> 49 D-E. By NORMAN GULLEY,	53
Early Roman Urbanity. By EDWIN S. RAMAGE, - - - -	65
<i>Nec Morti Esse Locum</i> . By E. ADELAIDE HAHN, - - - -	73
Sappho, 98 a 7. By E. ADELAIDE HAHN, - - - - -	75
The Development of ἀμφιμάχεσθαι. By GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING,	77
Note on the Text of Thucydides. By BENJAMIN D. MERITT, -	79
REVIEWS: - - - - -	82
<i>Herescu's Ovidiana</i> , Recherches sur Ovide, publiées à l'occasion du bimillénaire de la naissance du poète (BROOKS OTIS). <i>Lobel, Roberts, Turner, Barns' The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> , Part XXIV. Edited with Translations and Notes (LLOYD W. DALY).— <i>Ruch's L'Hortensius de Cicéron</i> : Histoire et reconstitution (JOHN HAMMOND TAYLOR, S. J.).— <i>Kirk and Raven's The Presocratic Philosophers</i> . A Critical History with a Selection of Texts (PETER DIAMADOPOULOS).— <i>Heichelheim's An Ancient Economic History from the Palaeolithic Age to the Migrations of the Germanic, Slavic, and Arabic Nations</i> , Volume I. Revised and Complete English Edition (NAPHTALI LEWIS).— <i>Bowen and Albright's Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia</i> , Volume II (FRANK E. BROWN).— <i>Goodenough's Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period</i> . Vols. VII and VIII: Pagan Symbols in Judaism (FRANZ LANDSBERGER).	
BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - -	110

No. 322.

	PAGE
Athena's Development in Homeric Epic. By M. W. M. POPE, -	113
Cicero on the <i>Comitia Centuriata: De Re Publica</i> , II, 22, 39-40. By G. V. SUMNER, - - - - -	136
Financial Transactions of Aurelia Titoueis. By JOHN DAY and SARAH B. PORGES, - - - - -	157
The Place of Codex Vat. Gr. 1823 in the Cebes Manuscript Tradition. By CHAUNCEY E. FINCH, - - - - -	176
Two Terminological Novelties. By NAPHTALI LEWIS, - - - - -	186
REVIEWS: - - - - -	189
<i>Gordon and Gordon's Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions. I: Rome and the Neighborhood, Augustus to Nerva (REVILO P. OLIVER).—Gordon and Gordon's Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions (REVILO P. OLIVER).—Brellich's Gli eroi greci. Un problema storico-religioso (FRANCIS R. WALTON).—Badian's Foreign Clientelae (264-70 B. C.) (JOHN V. A. FINE).—Neuhauser's Patronus und Orator: Eine Geschichte der Begriffe von ihren Anfängen bis in die augusteische Zeit (MASON HAMMOND).—Pulgram's The Tongues of Italy (JAMES W. POULTNEY).—Chadwick's The Decipherment of Linear B (WERNER WINTER).—Lévêque's Pyrrhos (T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON).—Neumann's Die poetische Gerechtigkeit in der neuen Komödie: Untersuchungen zur Technik des antiken Lustspiels (PHILIP WHALEY HARSH).—Haywood's The Myth of Rome's Fall (E. T. SALMON).—Seel's Die Praefatio des Pompeius Trogus (J. W. SWAIN).—Forni's Valore storico e fonti di Pompeo Trogus, I: Per le guerre greco-persiane (J. W. SWAIN).—Nybakken's Greek and Latin in Scientific Terminology (JAMES W. POULTNEY).—Edmonds' The Fragments of Attic Comedy, after Meineke, Bergk, and Kock. Augmented, Newly Edited with their Contexts, and Completely Translated into English Verse. Volume II (CHARLES T. MURPHY).—André's Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque (ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE).</i>	
BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - -	224

CONTENTS.

v

No. 323.

	PAGE
Imagery in the Satires of Horace and Juvenal. By WILLIAM S. ANDERSON, - - - - -	225
<i>Ergon</i> : History as a Monument in Herodotus and Thucydides. By HENRY R. IMMERWAHR, - - - - -	261
Corinthian Diplomacy after the Peace of Nicias. By DONALD KAGAN, - - - - -	291
On the <i>Agamemnon</i> of Aeschylus. By JAMES H. OLIVER, - - -	311
Libanius, <i>De Socratis Silentio</i> , 35. By WILLIAM M. CALDER, III, -	314
REVIEWS: - - - - -	315
<i>Ross' Aristotelis Topica et Sophistici Elenchi</i> (WILLIAM M. A. GRIMALDI, S. J.).— <i>Smith's Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army</i> (J. F. GILLIAM).— <i>Sakellariou's La migration grecque en Ionie</i> (CARL ROEBUCK).—MNHMHΞ XAPIN, <i>Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer</i> . Edited by <i>Heinz Kronasser</i> . Two Volumes (GORDON M. MESSING).	
BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - -	335

No. 324.

	PAGE
Catullus and Ovid. By JOHN FERGUSON, - - - -	337
Some Observations on Greek Historical Narrative from 400 to 1 B. C. A Study in the Effect of Outlook and Environment on Style. By S. USHER, - - - -	358
Patterns in Horatian Lyric. By NIALL RUDD, - - - -	373
Plato's Hypothesis and the Upward Path. By T. G. ROSENMEYER,	393
The Role of the Bow in the <i>Philoctetes</i> of Sophocles. By † PHILIP WHALEY HARSH, - - - -	408
The Priestess, Eritha. By WALTER F. WITTON, - - - -	415
REVIEWS: - - - -	422
<i>Webster's</i> From Mycenae to Homer. A Study in Early Greek Literature and Art (STERLING DOW).— <i>Van Groningen's</i> La composition littéraire archaïque grecque. Procédés et réalisations (JAMES A. NOTOPOULOS).— <i>LaBarbe's</i> La loi navale de Thémistocle (MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR).— <i>Trenk- ner's</i> The Greek Novella in the Classical Period (B. E. PERRY).— <i>Hammond's</i> The Antonine Monarchy (CHESTER G. STARR).— <i>Lewis' Samothrace</i> . Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, Vol. I: The Ancient Literary Sources, edited and trans- lated (FRANCIS R. WALTON).	
INDEX TO VOLUME LXXXI, - - - -	453

VOL. LXXXI, 1

WHOLE No. 321

THE UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

APR 27 1960

PERIODICAL
READING ROOM

AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

Edited by
HENRY T. ROWELL

LUDWIG EDELSTEIN, JAMES H. OLIVER
JAMES W. POULTNEY, JOHN H. YOUNG
EVELYN H. CLIFT: Secretary

Honorary Editors
KEMP MALONE
BENJAMIN D. MERITT

JANUARY, 1960

BALTIMORE 18, MARYLAND
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Musical Setting of Euripides' <i>Orestes</i> . By DOUGLAS D. FEAVER,	1
The Oscan <i>Cippus Abellanus</i> : A New Interpretation. By ERNST PULGRAM, - - - - -	16
Tacitus' Technique of Character Portrayal. By STEPHEN G. DAITZ,	30
The Interpretation of Plato, <i>Timaeus</i> 49 D-E. By NORMAN GULLEY,	53
Early Roman Urbanity. By EDWIN S. RAMAGE, - - - - -	65
<i>Nec Morti Esse Locum</i> . By E. ADELAIDE HAHN, - - - - -	73
Sappho, 98 a 7. By E. ADELAIDE HAHN, - - - - -	75
The Development of ἀμφιμάχεσθαι. By GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING,	77
Note on the Text of Thucydides. By BENJAMIN D. MERITT, -	79
REVIEWS: - - - - -	82

Herescu's Ovidiana, Recherches sur Ovide, publiées à l'occasion du bimillénaire de la naissance du poète (BROOKS OTIS).
Lobel, Roberts, Turner, Barns' The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXIV. Edited with Translations and Notes (LLOYD W. DALY).—*Ruch's L'Hortensius de Cicéron*: Histoire et reconstitution (JOHN HAMMOND TAYLOR, S. J.).—*Kirk and Raven's The Presocratic Philosophers*. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts (PETER DIAMADOPOULOS).—*Heichelheim's An Ancient Economic History from the Palaeolithic Age to the Migrations of the Germanic, Slavic, and Arabic Nations*, Volume I. Revised and Complete English Edition (NAPHTALI LEWIS).—*Bowen and Albright's Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia*, Volume II (FRANK E. BROWN).—*Goodenough's Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. Vols. VII and VIII: Pagan Symbols in Judaism (FRANZ LANDSBERGER).

BOOKS RECEIVED, - - - - -	110
---------------------------	-----

The American Journal of Philology is open to original communications in all departments of philology, and especially in the field of Greek and Roman studies. It is published quarterly. Four numbers constitute a volume, one volume each year. Subscription price, \$6.00 a year, payable in advance (foreign postage 50 cents, Canadian postage 25 cents, extra); single numbers, \$2.00 each.

Claims for replacement of missing numbers must be received within 3 months (6 months in the case of foreign subscribers) following publication of the number.

Articles intended for publication in the Journal, books for review, and other editorial communications should be addressed to the editor, Henry T. Rowell, The Johns Hopkins University; proof should be returned to the secretary, Evelyn H. Clift, The University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

Contributors are entitled to receive twenty-five copies of their respective contributions free of charge. Additional copies will be supplied at cost.

Subscriptions, remittances, and business communications should be sent to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, Baltimore 18, Md.

The contents of the American Journal of Philology are indexed regularly in the International Index to Periodicals.

Entered as second-class matter October 16, 1911, at the postoffice at Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917. Authorized on July 3, 1918.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. LXXXI, 1

WHOLE No. 321

THE MUSICAL SETTING OF EURIPIDES' *ORESTES*.

It will always be a matter of profound regret to classical scholars that all but a few scraps of ancient Greek music have been lost to us, and that most of those which have survived are from unknown or insignificant composers of Hellenistic or Roman times. Only two fragments (or perhaps three) exist which make any claim to antedate the Hellenistic period, and the authenticity of one of these, an alleged setting of Pindar's First Pythian Ode, is so dubious that no inferences can be safely drawn from it.¹ Only the fragment we are about to examine, a papyrus containing fragments of the text with musical notation of portions of the antistrophe of a chorus from Euripides' *Orestes*, can be relied on to give us any conception

¹ About sixteen fragments, few of them complete, are all that survive of ancient pieces of music. Those surviving in the manuscripts can be consulted in Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci, Supplementum* (Leipzig, 1899); those coming from papyri and inscriptions are conveniently discussed by Mountford in Powell and Barber, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* (Oxford, 1929), Second Series, pp. 146-82, and Third Series, pp. 260-1. To this should be added: P. Oslo., 1413, published by Eitrem, Amundsen, and Winnington-Ingram, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XXXI (1955), pp. 1-87. Another papyrus containing musical notation, Michigan 2958, is to be published shortly by O. M. Pearl. For a general bibliography see Winnington-Ingram, *Lustrum*, III (1958). On the theory Mountford and Winnington-Ingram in the *O. C. D.* (*s. v. Music*) provide the sanest, most lucid, and most convenient introduction to a very complicated and controversial subject. On the alleged Pindar fragment, see Mountford, *C. P.*, XXXI (1936), pp. 120 ff. *con.*, and K. Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 353-60, *pro.*

of the kind of melody set to a Greek tragedy of the Fifth Century.²

It is not merely antiquarian curiosity about the daily life and amusements of an ancient Athenian which makes a knowledge of this music a *desideratum* for classical scholarship. Students of classical philosophy, for example, are constantly confronted with references in ancient authorities to the importance of music in education and culture, and, in particular, to the alleged "ethical" qualities and powers of certain scales; these references will remain fundamentally incomprehensible until we hear the kind of music which called them forth.³

Likewise, students of ancient poetry, and of dramatic poetry in particular, must constantly regret the loss of the melodies which were integral parts of the works of art they are attempting to interpret. We know that Greek drama made use of music, but it is very difficult to determine how far an analogy with modern opera is appropriate. It is likely, no doubt, that the relative importance of the music and the libretto is not the same for ancient drama as for modern opera; we are not in the position of one attempting to evaluate Mozart's *Don Giovanni* from the words alone. In the Greek texts we have the better part. Nevertheless, the music was an integral part of the artistic whole; without it (and without the dance and the spectacle) something of value has been lost.

The *editio princeps* of the "Orestes" fragment was by

² K. Wessely, *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, V (Vindobonae, 1892), pp. 65-73 with photographs. Sedgwick, *Class. et Med.*, XI (1950), p. 222, thinks that the briefer and more mutilated scrap of a tragedy from Cairo is also classical.

³ The most famous instances are those of Plato, *Republic*, 398C-399D, and *Laws*, 653D-673A, 795-812E; Aristotle, *Politics* (VIII, 1339a-1342b). The problem most classicists are interested in, namely, the nature of the "ethos" ascribed to the various scales, has not been elucidated to anyone's complete satisfaction. See Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Ancient Greek Music* (Cambridge, 1936), who gives a brilliant survey of all the literary evidence. Only the "aulos scales" of Schlesinger, *op. cit.* (n. 1), *passim*, of all the reconstructions of the scholars, give any audible effect which throws any light on what the philosophers mean by "ethos,"—at least, so it seems to me from tape recordings I have made of how the various theoretical reconstructions of scales actually sound when played on *auloi* and *kitharai*.

Wessely. Crusius and Wagner have made subsequent contributions to the readings of the papyrus, and since I have not had an opportunity to examine the papyrus itself, I shall confine myself in this paper to matters unaffected by problems of restoration.⁴ The text, of course, can be restored from the manuscript tradition, although, as we shall see, a very knotty problem with respect to the order of the lines is involved.

Mountford provides us with the following restoration of the fragment:⁵

$\overset{\cdot}{\Pi} \text{ P } \text{ C } \quad . \quad \text{P} \cdot \Phi \Pi$
 (κατολοφ)ΥΡΟΜΑΙ Ζ ΜΑΤΕΡΟΣ (αἶμα σᾶς
 $\text{Z } ? ? \quad . \quad \text{I} \cdot \text{Z } \text{E}$
 ὅς σ' ἀναβ)ΑΚΧΕΥΕΙ Ζ Ο ΜΕΓΑΣ (ἄλβος οὐ
 $\overset{\cdot}{\Pi} \text{ P } \text{ C } \quad . \quad \text{I} \cdot \text{Z}$
 μόνιμο)Σ ΕΜ ΒΡΟΤΟΙΣ Ζ ΑΝΑ (δὲ λαῖφος ὧς
 $\text{C} \cdot \text{P } \overset{\cdot}{\Pi} \quad \text{C} \cdot \text{P} \quad . \quad \Phi \cdot \text{C}$
 τισ) ΑΚΑΤΟΥ ΘΟΑΣ Ζ ΤΙΝΑ (ξας δαίμων)
 $? \Pi \text{ P } \quad \overset{\cdot}{\Pi} \quad \quad \quad \text{ΖI} \cdot \text{Z}$
 ΚΑΤΕΚΛΥΣΕΝ ὧΓΩ Δ(εινῶν πόνων) ὧΓΩ ΩΩΣ ΠΟΝΤ(ου
 $\text{C} \cdot \text{P} \quad \text{I}$
 λάβροις ὀλεθρίοις)ΙΝ (ἐν κύμασιν.)

Because this fragment of Euripides provides us with our only opportunity to hear an ancient dramatic text set to its original melody it assumes great importance for our understanding of

⁴ The *editio princeps* was cited above, n. 2; Crusius, *Philologus*, LII (1893), p. 147; Wagner, *Philologus*, LXXVII (1921), p. 293. Of the many comments on this music the following are most representative: besides the *editio princeps*, Monro, *Modes of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1894), p. 93; Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-6; E. Martin, *Trois Documents de Musique Grecque* (Paris, 1953), pp. 14-24; G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), pp. 48 ff.; Mountford, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, Second Series, pp. 146-82; K. Schlesinger, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 363 ff.

⁵ Mountford, *loc. cit.* (above, n. 4), p. 146. In this paper we shall not be concerned with the rhythmical signs, nor the notes which are written on the line of the text. It seems probable to me that the Z between ΘΟΑΣ and ΤΙΝΑ (ξας) is identical to the Z in the preceding lines. The instrumental notes are congruent with the scale of the vocal notes.

Greek drama as a whole. It is regrettable, therefore, that it is in such a mutilated condition, that its compass is so brief, and that confusion as to the order of the lines should impair its usefulness. But to count our blessings, let us enumerate several fortunate features of this fragment. First of all, its authenticity is fairly certain.⁶ Then, it not only comes from a tragedy of one of the great authors, Euripides, but also from one which is otherwise extant as a whole, so the fragment can be placed in context. Moreover, this very play, though not this particular passage, was used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus to illustrate some of his assertions concerning the relationship between melody and pitch accent.⁷ It seems possible that the text and "score" of this drama, or selections from it, were preserved because of some special excellence it had in the minds of ancient critics.⁸ Finally, although the loss of the edges of the papyrus fragment is regrettable and exasperating, it is fortunate that the text is so written on the papyrus that the beginnings and the ends of the lines as they are usually divided fall in the preserved centre portion. Thus we are able to examine opening phrases and closing musical cadences—a matter of some importance, as we shall see.

An attempted interpretation of the music in actual intervals would plunge us immediately into a tangled jungle of controversy, ancient and modern. Attempts to determine the "scale" and the "key" of the fragment have resulted in the following identifications: Hypolydian *tonos* (key), Hypophrygian species by Schlesinger; Mixolydian *tonos*, Mixolydian mode, by Sachs; Lydian *tonos*, Lydian mode, by Gombosi; Dorian mode by Jan and Monro, Lydian *tonos* and Phrygian mode by Montford.⁹

⁶ This is confirmed by the archaic nature of the scale used. See, below, n. 13; Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 3.

⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Compositione Verborum* (ed. Usener and Radermacher, 1904-29), XI, 63-4.

⁸ Or so I interpret the coincidence that Dionysius should be discussing the music of this very play, and that at three places, lines 174, 343, and 1384, there are scholia commenting on musical matters. It is not necessary to insist that a complete "score" was available in Roman times. See on this question, F. Marx, *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXII (1933), p. 233; Turner, *J. H. S.*, LXXVI (1956), pp. 95 ff.

⁹ K. Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos*, p. 363; K. Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West* (New York, 1943), pp. 243 ff.;

This complete lack of agreement should serve to warn the unwary that scholars have by no means arrived at a satisfactory agreement about the application of terms of ancient music. At the present time there are roughly three schools of thought; a traditional school, working from the theories of Aristoxenus, the successor of Aristotle, and other ancient theorists; a school which works from an analysis of the (assumed) tunings and fingerings of the ancient lyre and cithara; and theories of Schlesinger, arising from her analysis of the scales produced by surviving relics of Greek *auloi*.¹⁰ The ancient controversy between Apollo with the lyre and Marsyas with the *aulos* still rages! None of these theories does full justice to facts adduced by the others, and it may be that an attempt at a comprehensive theory of Greek music is doomed from the start. I suspect that, in fact, Greek music was not homogeneous and that music for the lyre and the *aulos* arose on quite different acoustical principles and that in ancient, as in modern, Greece several fundamentally different musical systems lay side by side in more or less uneasy co-existence in the culture of the people.

This being the case, I shall not attempt in this paper to discuss matters which involve controversial questions of the actual values to be assigned to the musical notation.¹¹ It will

O. Gombosi, *Tonarten und Stimmungen in Antiken Musik*, p. 110; Jan, *Musici Scriptores Graeci, Supplementum*, pp. 4-5; Monro, *Modes of Ancient Greek Music*, pp. 93-4 (he also considers Mixolydian as possible); Mountford, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 168 ff.

¹⁰ The literature on the subject of Greek music is complex, contradictory, and confusing. No footnote can do justice to even one theory. Those who wish to pursue the matter will find the traditional approach best represented in Mountford and Winnington-Ingram's article in the *O. C. D.*, s. v. *Music*; the theories based on assumed tunings of the *kithara* are best approached through G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, pp. 11-53, with its references to articles by Sachs and Gombosi. The basic assumptions of this school have been submitted to very cogent criticisms by Winnington-Ingram, *C. Q.*, L (1956), pp. 169-86; theories based on *aulos* scales are to be found in K. Schlesinger, *op. cit.* (n. 1), *passim*. Though many of her deductions and theoretical reconstructions (particularly of the history of notation) are suspect, nonetheless the existence of these *aulos* scales, with proportionately increasing intervals, is incontrovertible, and must be accounted for in any system.

¹¹ The notes used in the fragment are (1) in the vocal notation: ΦΣΠΗΙΖ Ε; (2) in the instrumental notation: ΩΓΩ. I take the note at

be sufficient for our present purposes to know the direction the musical line is taking and the contours of the melodic phrase. Readers who are not familiar with Greek musical notation need only keep in mind that, roughly speaking, every third letter of the alphabet is a step of the diatonic scale apart, and that notes arranged in alphabetical order are descending, whereas an ascending phrase will show the opposite order.¹² The only point which is of importance to my present enquiry is the fact that the scale used in this fragment does not correspond to the canons of Aristoxenus, but is identical with an ancient scale quoted by Aristides in a commentary on the musical section of Plato's *Republic*.¹³ This seems to me to be ample support for an assumption that this music is genuinely pre-Aristoxenian, and hence probably Euripidean. The fact that Aristides names this scale "Phrygian," when Mixolydian and Dorian were the usual scales used in tragedy, need not concern us. Sophocles, we know, occasionally used the "Phrygian" in his tragedies, and there is no reason to doubt that Euripides did so as well.¹⁴

Examining first the melody itself, I should like to point out evidences of melodic formality. There are repetitions of the cadences and of opening phrases.¹⁵ There is evidence of inversion and (more doubtfully) a kind of sequence.¹⁶ The melodic idea of the passage seems to be a ringing of the changes on the

the level of the text between the lines of verse to be a Z, but see Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

¹² I am aware, of course, that this distorts the actual picture of the intervals, particularly if Schlesinger is right, as I believe she is, that the intervals in question are of gradually increasing size as one ascends the scale. It is true that Aristoxenos and his followers imply equal and commensurable intervals, but he is demonstrably wrong in the second point, and may be wrong in the first.

¹³ Aristides Quintilianus, *De Musica* (ed. Jan, 1882), I, 22. This "Phrygian" scale is: ΦΣΠΗΙΖΕΔΩ. This is the same sequence as used in the fragment (see n. 11), although Δ and Ω are not utilized, in the extant parts at least.

¹⁴ See Mountford, *loc. cit.*, p. 168.

¹⁵ Closing cadences: (..φ)ύρομαι and ἐμ βροτοῖς

I Z E I Z

Opening phrases: ὁ μέγας and ἀνὰ.

¹⁶ Inversion: ΠΣΡ with ΠΠΣ

Sequence: (I)ΣΡ, ΠΣΡ, and ()ΣΡ.

enharmonic *pukna* ΠΠΣ. This feature of the music is of some importance inasmuch as none of the other pieces of Greek music extant (which come, as we said above, from Hellenistic and Roman times) show anything like this degree of balance and formality.¹⁷ It would be impossible to generalize from this little scrap, but this is intriguing evidence that, in the fifth century at least, music shared some of the love of her sister arts for form, balance, and subtle variation.

Next let us examine the relationship of the melody to the words, and in particular, the problem raised by Dionysius' assertions on the relationship of the melody and the pitch accent. Dionysius states that the words are subordinate to the tune and illustrates his remarks by quoting from another chorus from this very play, claiming that the melodic line contradicts the pitch accent.¹⁸ I shall not attempt here to examine this other chorus, or to untangle the difficulties involved, but it is interesting to test his assertions in the present instance, since in varying degrees his thesis is contradicted by almost all of the other fragments of Greek music we possess, in which acute and circumflex accents are usually higher in pitch (or, at least, not lower) than other syllables in the word, and in addition, circumflexes are frequently set to a pair of descending notes.¹⁹

Although Mountford in his discussion of the problem implies that there was a degree of conformity illustrated in this fragment, a careful tally of the accents with the musical phrases

¹⁷ In the *Ajax* fragment (see Mountford, p. 176) there is a tendency to repeat certain note patterns, but the repetitions do not appear to be formally organized. The idea (expressed by Pickard-Cambridge in *O. C. D.*, s. v. *Euripides*, section 14) that he aimed at expressing intensity of feeling without observance of any formal rule or symmetry does not seem to be supported by this piece.

¹⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Compositione Verborum*, XI, 63-4. The force of Dionysius' arguments is considerably weakened by the unreliability of the text he quotes. In the text as traditionally received, the implied melody conforms in several instances to the pitch accent where Dionysius marks a violation.

¹⁹ See Winnington-Ingram, *Symbolae Osloenses*, XXXI (1955), p. 64, where the rules are more fully explained; see also R. L. Turner, *C. R.* (1915), pp. 195-6; Mountford, *loc. cit.*, pp. 164 ff. In this discussion I am ignoring the grave accent which plays a very minor role in this chorus, and whose effect is not very marked in any case.

leaves the matter at best ambiguous. In five cases, acute accents (so far as the papyrus goes) are not violated by the music, in three, there are violations. There are two circumflexes, neither set to two descending notes, one on the higher, the other on the lower note of the music set to the word.²⁰ Other cases are for various reasons uncertain. It cannot be said, then, that this fragment proves the point one way or the other, although there is a slight preponderance of evidence in favor of a correspondence between music and accent. When the further evidence of strophic respension is considered below, however, it will become clear, I hope, that the melodic line did in fact keep the contours of the melody in mind to a considerable extent. Sedgwick, however, has decided that this fragment indicates that only post-classical music observed the pitch accent in melody, and suggests that this was due to Hellenistic pedantry.²¹ On *a priori* grounds this seems to me most improbable, and, even as it stands, this fragment does show a degree of conformity. However a more important line of evidence has not yet, to my knowledge, been considered: that is, the relationship of the melodic line to the strophe, or the *first* verse.

It is, of course, only an assumption that the music for both strophe and antistrophe was the same. But as my discussion will show, we have in fact evidence which can control this assumption, and make it possible to guess with some assurance whether or not this was the case in any piece of strophic verse before us.

Before we can proceed to the task of setting the melody to the strophe, one disturbing difficulty must be considered, that is, the uncertainty of the order of some of the lines of the antistrophe, and hence of the exact respension of words between the strophe and the antistrophe. Here, as it happens, the metre is of no help, inasmuch as all the possibilities are equally possible metrically.²²

Π Ρ Σ Ζ Φ Σ () () Π Ρ Π Ζ Σ Ρ

²⁰ Non-violations: -φύρομαι, βακχεύει, τινάξας, κατέκλυσεν, πόντ(ου), (θοῶς).

Ρ Φ Π Ζ Ε Σ Ρ Π

Violations: (1) Acutes: *ματέρος, μέγας, ἀκάτου*

Ρ Σ

(2) Circumflexes: *βροτοῖς*

See below, n. 32.

²¹ Sedgwick, *Class. et Med.*, XI (1950), pp. 222 ff.

²² The manuscripts are dislocated at this point, and the traditional

Kirchoff, followed by Murray in the OCT, placed line 339 after 340, in order to bring the repeated verbs *καθικετεύομαι* and *κατολοφύρομαι* parallel in the responsion. Our papyrus, however, gives the order as follows: 339, 338, 340. In my original investigations, I had not only accepted this order, but altered the strophe likewise, again in order to preserve the parallelism between *καθικετεύομαι* and *κατολοφύρομαι*. In so far as my total statistics are concerned there is no difference between this arrangement and that of the OCT. On pondering the matter further, I have become dissatisfied with either solution, though both are possible, for the following reasons: Kirchoff's arrangement involves a reshuffling of the melodic phrases, which seems to me unlikely,²³ and my original arrangement makes an awkward, if not impossible, break in the sentence structure of the strophe.

Thus I was led to set the antistrophe, following the order given in the papyrus, against the strophe, following the traditional order (which, by the way, is not disturbed in the manuscripts). Although this involves abandoning the parallelism of *καθικετεύομαι* and *κατολοφύρομαι*, in every other respect much more consistent results are obtained.²⁴ Let us see how the accents of the strophe correspond to the melodic contours, first of all employing this latter arrangement of lines.

In seven cases, six of them involving acute accents and one a circumflex, the melodic line does not contradict the accent.²⁵

order of the lines, 338, 339, 340 of the antistrophe has been rejected by Kirchoff and Murray, though retained in the Loeb text. There does not seem to be any manuscript authority for changing the corresponding lines of the strophe. I hope to show in the course of the discussion another reason why the traditional order is probably wrong. See below, pp. 14 f.

²³ Winnington-Ingram, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, XXXI (1955), pp. 67-8, n. 3, dismisses as inconceivable that Greek melody could be "chopped arbitrarily into lengths."

²⁴ In any case the phrase, *τινύμεναι . . . τινύμεναι* had no parallel in the antistrophe. To keep the record straight, I shall give the results obtained with all three arrangements, and base my arguments on non-disputed lines first of all.

Π Ρ Σ Ζ () Π Ρ Σ Π Η Σ Φ Σ () Ζ

²⁵ Acutes: αἵματος, φόνον, καθικετεύομαι, ἑάσαι, -λαθέσθαι, μόχθων.

ΖΙ

Circumflex: φεύ.

The circumflex accent, which occurs at the only point where two notes are set to a syllable, is the most striking confirmation of the fact that the melodic line was written with the first stanza's accentual pattern in mind, and explains the puzzling duplication of the omega in the papyrus of *ῶος*. Moreover, the phrase itself is an aesthetically appropriate quaver on the word "alas!"²⁶

In two cases the melodic line is contradicted: in one, *τινύμεναι*, at the same point as that of the antistrophe, at the other, the antistrophe's accent follows the music (*μανιάδος*). In all the other cases, not enough of the melodic line is extant to decide. It is interesting, however, to see that a violation in the antistrophe (at *μέγας*) may have been avoided in the strophe inasmuch as the acute accent of *καθικετεύομαι* falls in the same position as that of *ὄλβος*, and must have been the dominant accent of the phrase.

To complete the record let us see how matters stand if we follow the order of lines given in the OCT. Here there are again seven cases of correspondence between music and word accent and two violations.²⁷ Whichever order is accepted, then, it is quite clear that there is a marked degree of conformity between the accents and the melodic line in the strophe. It is also interesting to note that at one of the points at which a violation is tolerated in the strophe, the antistrophe has bowed, as it were, to the pressure of the melody and conformed.²⁸

Having reached this point in our discussion, let us consider another factor which will lead us far afield from the limitations of our papyrus fragment. Inasmuch as the accentual patterns of both the strophe and the antistrophe correspond, though in varying degrees, to the melodic line, it follows inevitably that they must be related to each other. Now it seems to be a

²⁶ Particularly, if the scholiast (*ad* line 343) is right in asserting that the words, *δαινῶν πόνων* were declaimed, not sung, and this was true of *φοιταλέον* in the strophe as well.

Z ΦΣ ΠΡΣ ΡΠΣ ΦΣ() Ζ ΖΙ
²⁷ Correspondences: *αἵματος*, *φόνον*, *-τεύομαι*, *έάσατ'*, *-λαθέσθαι*, *μόχλων*, *φεῦ*.

ΙΖΕ() () ΠΡΗ

Violations: *τινύμεναι*, *μανιάδος*. The reason why the two arrangements of lines make so little difference in the total figures is largely because of the repetition of key melodic phrases at key places.

() ΠΡ Π

() Π ΡΗ

²⁸ *μανιάδος* has become *κατέκλυσεν*.

generally accepted doctrine that responsion in Greek strophic verse took no heed of accents.²⁹ I have not been able to discover on what research this impression is based, nor am I prepared at the moment to challenge the statement *in toto*, having had the opportunity only to do a series of spot checks in various authors. It is quite clear from these spot checks, however, that in these matters there is considerable variation from author to author.³⁰ We will not be able to generalize, then, from Euripides' practice, but a careful examination of this chorus will show that in his case strophic responsion played a considerable, though by no means a rigid role.

It will be necessary to set the strophe and the antistrophe together in order to see the responsion of the corresponding lines more clearly. In the following example I have also added the musical notes, where extant, at the points they would occur in the strophe, on the assumption that the music for both verses was the same. The asterisks mark the three dislocated lines, which are given here in the order of the papyrus.

Syllables in which a strong accent (acute or circumflex) in the strophe is not contradicted in the antistrophe are marked by a line. If the correspondence is to a monosyllable or of an acute to a circumflex the line is bracketed. Contradictions are marked with a dot. The possibility that some of these contradictions may be resolved by the music needs to be kept in mind, but is not indicated. The text is that of Murray in the OCT.

The Musical Notation does not include the three instrumental notes occurring at the level of the text between the words in line 343, nor the Z which is written between each line.

*The Chorus from Euripides' Orestes, lines 314-47, with
corresponding lines from strophe and antistrophe
set together, and music set to strophe.*

1st (316) αἰαῖ
(332) ἰὼ Ζεῦ,

²⁹ The comment of Dale in *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (Cambridge, 1948), p. 194, seems to be typical.

³⁰ I am proceeding with studies along this line, and invite others to do so as well with the assurance that there is something real to discover in many authors, although with Pindar the results have been disappointing.

- 2nd (317) δρομάδες ὦ πτεροφόροι
(333) τίς ἔλεος, τίς ὄδ' ἀγών
- 3rd (318) ποτνιαδες θεαί
(334) φόνοις ἔρχεται
- 4th (319) ἀβάκχεντον αἰ θίασον ἐλάχετ' ἐν
(335) θαῶζων σε τὸν μέλεον, ᾧ δάκρυα
- 5th (320) δάκρυσι καὶ γόοις,
(336) δάκρυσι συμβάλλει,
- 6th (321) μελάγχρωτες εὐμενίδες, αἵτε τὸν
(337) πορεύων τις ἐς δόμον ἀλαστόρων.
() Π Ρ Σ
- 7th (332) ταναὸν αἰθέρ' ἀμπάλλεσθ', αἵματος
*(339) κατολοφύρομαι, κατολοφύρομαι,
ΡΦΠ() Ζ
- 8th (323) τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον,
*(338) ματέρως αἷμα σᾶς, ὅ σ' ἀναβακχεύει;
Ι Ζ Ε () Π Ρ Σ
- 9th (324) καθικετεύομαι, καθικετεύομαι,
*(340) ὁ μέγας ὄλβος οὐ μόνιμος ἐμ βροτοῖς.
Ι Ζ ()
- 10th (325) τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
(341) ἀνὰ δὲ λαῖφος ὥς
() Σ Ρ Π Σ Ρ Φ Σ ()
- 11th (326) γόνον ἐάσατ' ἐκλαθέσθαι λύσσας
(342) τις ἀκάτον θοᾶς τινάξας δαίμων
() Π Ρ Π () Ζ Ι Ζ
- 12th (327) μανιάδος φοιταλέου. φεῦ μόχθων,
(343) κατέκλυσεν δεινῶν πόνων ὥς πόντου
() Σ Ρ Ι ()
- 13th (328) οἶων, ὦ τάλας, ὄρεχθεις ἔρρεις,
(344) λάβροις ὀλεθρίοισιν ἐν κύμασιν.
- 14th (329) τρίποδος ἄπο φάτιν, ἅν ὁ φοῖβος ἔλακε, δε-
(345) τίνα γὰρ ἔτι πάρος οἶκον ἔτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ
- 15th (330) ξάμενος ἀνὰ δάπεδον
(346) θεογόνων γάμων
- 16th (331) ἵνα μεσόμφαλοι λέγονται μυχοί.
(347) τὸν ἀπὸ Ταντάλου, σέβεσθαί με χρῆ;

First line: The circumflex coincides (*αἰαῖ* and *Ζεῦ*).

Second line: The acutes on *δρομάδες* and *ἔλεος* coincide, but the acute on *περοφόροι* is contradicted by *ἄγών*. Only the monosyllabic circumflex is not repeated in the antistrophe. (The monosyllables *τίς* and *ᾔδε* in the antistrophe are neutral.)

Third line: Here we have two absolute contradictions.³¹

Fourth line: Here the three acute accents and even the grave are exactly repeated.

Fifth line: The two acute accents correspond exactly.

Sixth line: The first acute corresponds, but the other two do not.

Tenth line: The acute corresponds to a circumflex.³²

Eleventh line: The first acute corresponds to a monosyllable, the second does not correspond, but the last two do.³³

Twelfth line: The first acute does not correspond.³⁴ The acutes on *πόνων* and *φοιταλέου* correspond.³⁵ The circumflex corresponds to a virtual circumflex,³⁶ and the acute corresponds.

Thirteenth line: This line offers problems in syllabic respon-

³¹ In the case of the *θεαί* note that, provided the next to last syllable were lower than the last, there would be no conflict of accent since the acute of *ἔρχεται* corresponds to the previous word. This indicates that absolute respension of accent was not always necessary in order to have the music fit both verses.

³² For the moment I am passing over the lines whose order is in dispute. There is good reason to suppose that the substitution of a circumflex at the position of an acute in the primary stanza was a common practice.

³³ The music for the first syllable is not certain, but the music fits the acute accent of *ἑάσατ'* while the *ἀκάτου* of the antistrophe is wrong. The music, so far as it goes, is right for both strophe and antistrophe at *-λαθέσθαι*. This is good indication that testing the musical line against the antistrophe alone may be misleading.

³⁴ As we have noted above, at this point the strophe violates the music, while the antistrophe corresponds to it. Here the pressure of the melodic line has asserted itself in the second stanza. See n. 28.

³⁵ If the scholiast (*ad* line 343) is right about *δεινῶν πόνων* the word *φοιταλέου* must have been declaimed, not sung. Nonetheless, the accents correspond. See above, n. 26.

³⁶ By a virtual circumflex I mean that the way in which the *ῶς* would be performed amounts to a circumflex, that is, a high followed by a low. This kind of correspondence would not appear in the ordinary manuscript tradition, and may reduce the number of apparent contradictions. See also nn. 37, 38, 19.

sion, but the first two acute accents probably correspond, the others probably do not.³⁷

Fourteenth line: The four acutes correspond (three exactly, one to a monosyllable) with a virtual circumflex on two short syllables, making a line of five (and possibly six) accentual agreements.³⁸

Fifteenth line: Here the two acutes do not correspond.

Sixteenth line: The first acute corresponds to a monosyllable, the second does not, but the final two of the whole strophe do so. It is interesting to note here, as elsewhere, a high degree of consonance and assonance in this responsion which brings the strophe to a close.³⁹

In the whole strophe then, apart from the dislocated lines (7th, 8th, 9th) we have a total of eighteen exact correspondences of acute accents, three of circumflexes, one case of an acute with a circumflex, four cases of an acute corresponding to a monosyllable. On the other hand there are only ten cases of acute accents not agreeing. Actually, more impressive than the mere statistics is the fact that there are important patterns of agreement and non-agreement, and that at strong points in the line or phrase agreement is more likely, and that accentual violations tend to be grouped together.⁴⁰

As for the three lines whose order is a problem, if we accept my suggestion as to the order we discover that the pattern of correspondence continues.⁴¹ Even if Murray's order is accepted it is not very different.⁴² Only if the traditional order is

³⁷ The circumflex of ω may well have a virtual circumflex in the two short syllables of $\delta\lambda\epsilon$. Note variant readings here and following.

³⁸ For the virtual circumflex of $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ see n. 36.

³⁹ Compare: $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \mu\upsilon\chi\omicron\iota$
 $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\ \chi\rho\acute{\eta}$.

⁴⁰ To say nothing of the possible reconciliations of non-correspondences by the music as discussed above, n. 31.

⁴¹ Correspondences: $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma,\ \tau\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota,\ \phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu,\ -\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota,\ -\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$
 $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota,\ \mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma,\ -\chi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota,\ \delta\lambda\beta\omicron\varsigma,\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\ \beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$

Non-correspondences: $\alpha\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho',\ \acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta',\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu,$
 $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota,\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota,\ \alpha\iota\mu\alpha.$

Note that in the last two examples both could conform to a common melody and no real violation would exist (e.g. if note on $-\alpha\nu$ was low).

⁴² Correspondences: $\tau\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota,\ \kappa\alpha\theta\iota\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota,\ \tau\alpha\nu\alpha\delta\nu,\ -\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta'$
 $\delta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\varsigma,\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\alpha\iota,\ \mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma,\ \delta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha-$

Non-correspondences: $\alpha\iota\theta\epsilon\rho'\ \acute{\alpha}\mu,\ -\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu,\ \tau\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota,\ \phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$
 $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma,\ \delta\lambda\beta\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon,\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\varsigma,\ \beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma.$

retained do we find a strong tendency to disagreement between the strophic and antistrophic accents. This seems to me to be important evidence that the traditional order is wrong.⁴³

All in all, the evidence clearly shows that the melodic contours, created by the strophic accents and extended by the melodic line, were definitely controlling factors in the poet's mind, along with metre and vocabulary, as he created the second verse.

Our conclusions may be conveniently summarized as follows:

(1) This fragment shows that there is a tendency for the melodic line to conform to the pitch accent.

(2) This tendency is more marked in the strophe than the antistrophe, although even here some violations are tolerated (in some instances where the antistrophe reverts to conformity).

(3) It follows that strophic respension also took the pitch accents into account, and examination of the rest of the chorus shows that there is in fact a marked degree of conformity of accent between strophe and antistrophe, probably implying a common relationship to a common melody.

It would be hazardous to generalize from this one example to all Greek strophic verse; but at least it offers hope that similar investigations carried out in other authors will demonstrate analogous phenomena.

DOUGLAS D. FEAVER.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY.

⁴³ Correspondences: *ταναδν, -πάλλεσθ', -τεύομαι, τεύομαι*
ματέρος ὁ σ'άνα-, ὀλβος, ἐμ βροτοῖς.
() ()

Non-correspondences: *αἰθέρ' ἄμ-, αἵματος, τινύμεναι*
αἶμα σᾶς, βακχεύει, κατολοφύρομαι
δίκαν, τινύμεναι, φόνον
-ομαι, κατολοφύρομαι, -ομαι.

THE OSCAN CIPPUS ABELLANUS: A NEW INTERPRETATION.

The *Cippus Abellanus*, a limestone tablet ($1.92 \times 0.51 \times 0.27$ m.), bears on both sides an inscription in the Oscan language. It is of about the middle of the second century B. C. and codifies an agreement between the ancient towns of Nola and Abella, now Nola and Castel d'Avella (the latter on an elevation near the modern Avella), about six miles distant from one another, northeast of Vesuvius, situated on either side of the modern road from Naples to Avellino. The stone was found in 1745 at Avella, where it had served as a doorstep, and is now deposited in the Episcopal Seminary of Nola.

The ordinance concerns the legal status of a sanctuary of Hercules, consisting of the temple and sacred precinct proper, and some land around it, located between the two villages and straddling (I shall explain this in detail) the boundary dividing the two townships from one another. This peculiar situation of the sanctuary, which both Nolans and Abellans visited and which stood on ground belonging to both towns, raised special questions of ownership, of responsibility for maintenance, and of division of income and of the temple treasure. It was therefore resolved, reasonably enough, to declare the sanctuary extra-territorial since by its nature and location it was neither divisible nor unilaterally ownable.

For various reasons, there have remained some uncertainties in the translation and understanding of the inscription. To begin with, the provisions, apart from being composed in an imperfectly known tongue, are not stated as clearly and unambiguously as a modern legal instrument would require, which is scarcely surprising in a document coming from two small country towns of a region but rudimentarily literate at the time. In addition, the damage done to the stone, causing the obliteration of several lines and ends of lines, further increases the difficulties of interpretation. But translations have been made, and they are, for the most part, good enough. The words, at least, seem to make sense. Yet when I attempted to illustrate graphically, by means of a drawing, the situation of the sanctuary and take account of the stipulations of the *Cippus*, I found that in a

number of passages crucial to the comprehension of the document as a whole, it was impossible to make topographic sense out of the verbal statement. By revising the translation and interpretation of a number of key words and passages, without of course doing violence to the text where the reading is firmly established, I arrived at a version which, I believe, does justice to both the wording and the real-estate problems involved.¹

I shall now cite the text (after Vetter) and a Latin translation of the *Cippus*, followed by my own English translation and a brief commentary. The letters between slanted lines in the English translation refer to the sketch in Fig. 1.²

¹ Since various editions are easily accessible I shall not compare in detail my translation with that of other students, nor shall I give a complete linguistic and philological exegesis of the text. I shall merely discuss the passages where my own contributions change earlier work in a significant manner and degree. The following are the most recent and most trustworthy sources: Carl D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (2nd ed., Boston, 1928); Vittore Pisani, *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (Turin, 1953); Emil Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953); Gino Bottiglioni, *Manuale dei dialetti italici* (Bologna, 1954).

² In the transliteration of the original text I shall employ the customary typographic devices. Black face indicates that the inscription is in the native Oscan alphabet; letters or words in parentheses are supplied by the editor, filling gaps left by the scribe or the stonemason (the latter may have been illiterate or ignorant of the Oscan language) either erroneously or intentionally (abbreviations); letters or words in brackets are emendations by the editor where the stone is broken or has a damaged surface; uncertain readings are marked by a dot under the letter in question, except that doubtful reading of dots in the original (which indicate, sometimes, word division) is marked by a small horizontal bracket underneath the dot; ligatures of letters are transcribed by means of semi-circles above the letters; no orthographic aids (majuscules, punctuation, etc.) are provided except where the original has them; superfluous letters or words due to an obvious error of the scribe or stonemason are put inside broken parentheses; the number of letters missing within the original is indicated by figures (above dash lines).

Words and phrases in brackets in the English translation are my own additions, emendations, or explanations.

This particular inscription has, within the text, five unusually wide spaces (in Part A, line 23, in Part B, lines 11, 18, 22, and 28), representing something like paragraph boundaries. These I render by means of a double slanted line in the transliteration and the Latin translation, by numbered paragraphs in the English translation. One other para-

THE OSCAN CIPPUS ABELLANUS: A NEW INTERPRETATION.

The *Cippus Abellanus*, a limestone tablet ($1.92 \times 0.51 \times 0.27$ m.), bears on both sides an inscription in the Oscan language. It is of about the middle of the second century B. C. and codifies an agreement between the ancient towns of Nola and Abella, now Nola and Castel d'Avella (the latter on an elevation near the modern Avella), about six miles distant from one another, northeast of Vesuvius, situated on either side of the modern road from Naples to Avellino. The stone was found in 1745 at Avella, where it had served as a doorstep, and is now deposited in the Episcopal Seminary of Nola.

The ordinance concerns the legal status of a sanctuary of Hercules, consisting of the temple and sacred precinct proper, and some land around it, located between the two villages and straddling (I shall explain this in detail) the boundary dividing the two townships from one another. This peculiar situation of the sanctuary, which both Nolans and Abellans visited and which stood on ground belonging to both towns, raised special questions of ownership, of responsibility for maintenance, and of division of income and of the temple treasure. It was therefore resolved, reasonably enough, to declare the sanctuary extra-territorial since by its nature and location it was neither divisible nor unilaterally ownable.

For various reasons, there have remained some uncertainties in the translation and understanding of the inscription. To begin with, the provisions, apart from being composed in an imperfectly known tongue, are not stated as clearly and unambiguously as a modern legal instrument would require, which is scarcely surprising in a document coming from two small country towns of a region but rudimentarily literate at the time. In addition, the damage done to the stone, causing the obliteration of several lines and ends of lines, further increases the difficulties of interpretation. But translations have been made, and they are, for the most part, good enough. The words, at least, seem to make sense. Yet when I attempted to illustrate graphically, by means of a drawing, the situation of the sanctuary and take account of the stipulations of the *Cippus*, I found that in a

number of passages crucial to the comprehension of the document as a whole, it was impossible to make topographic sense out of the verbal statement. By revising the translation and interpretation of a number of key words and passages, without of course doing violence to the text where the reading is firmly established, I arrived at a version which, I believe, does justice to both the wording and the real-estate problems involved.¹

I shall now cite the text (after Vetter) and a Latin translation of the *Cippus*, followed by my own English translation and a brief commentary. The letters between slanted lines in the English translation refer to the sketch in Fig. 1.²

¹ Since various editions are easily accessible I shall not compare in detail my translation with that of other students, nor shall I give a complete linguistic and philological exegesis of the text. I shall merely discuss the passages where my own contributions change earlier work in a significant manner and degree. The following are the most recent and most trustworthy sources: Carl D. Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* (2nd ed., Boston, 1928); Vittore Pisani, *Le lingue dell'Italia antica oltre il latino* (Turin, 1953); Emil Vetter, *Handbuch der italischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1953); Gino Bottiglioni, *Manuale dei dialetti italiani* (Bologna, 1954).

² In the transliteration of the original text I shall employ the customary typographic devices. Black face indicates that the inscription is in the native Oscan alphabet; letters or words in parentheses are supplied by the editor, filling gaps left by the scribe or the stonemason (the latter may have been illiterate or ignorant of the Oscan language) either erroneously or intentionally (abbreviations); letters or words in brackets are emendations by the editor where the stone is broken or has a damaged surface; uncertain readings are marked by a dot under the letter in question, except that doubtful reading of dots in the original (which indicate, sometimes, word division) is marked by a small horizontal bracket underneath the dot; ligatures of letters are transcribed by means of semi-circles above the letters; no orthographic aids (majuscules, punctuation, etc.) are provided except where the original has them; superfluous letters or words due to an obvious error of the scribe or stonemason are put inside broken parentheses; the number of letters missing within the original is indicated by figures (above dash lines).

Words and phrases in brackets in the English translation are my own additions, emendations, or explanations.

This particular inscription has, within the text, five unusually wide spaces (in Part A, line 23, in Part B, lines 11, 18, 22, and 28), representing something like paragraph boundaries. These I render by means of a double slanted line in the transliteration and the Latin translation, by numbered paragraphs in the English translation. One other para-

I. TEXT AND LATIN TRANSLATION.

A—obverse

maiúf. vestirikíúf. mai(ieis). str
Maio Vestricio Mai (filio) ?
 prupukid. sverrunef. kvaístu
designato ? quaestu-
 ref. abellanúf. ínm. maiúf
ri Abellano et Maio
 lúvkiúf. mai(ieis). pukalatúf
Lucio Mai (filio) ?
 medíkef. deketasiúf. nuvla
medici decentario (?) Nola-
 n[ú]f. ínm. lígatúf. abella[núf]
no et legatis Abellanis
 ínm. lígatúf. núvlanúf
et legatis Nolanis
 pús. senateís. tanginúd
qui senatus sententia
 suveís. pútúrúspíd. lígat[ús]
sui utrique legati
 fufans. ekss. kúmbened.
erant, ita conuenit:
 sakaraklúm. herekleís. [úp]
Sacrarium Herculis, apud
 slaagid. púd. íst. ínm. teer[úm]
confinium quod est, et territorium
 púd. úp. eísúd. sakaraklúd. [íst]
quod apud id sacrarium est,
 púd. anter. teremníss. eh —⁵
quod inter termina extrema (?)
 íst. paí. teremenniú. mú[íníkad]
est, quae termina communi
 tanginúd. prúftúset. r[—⁴—(³)]
sententia probata sunt ?
 amnúd. puz. ídik. sakára[klúm]
 ? , ut id sacrarium
 ínm. ídik. terúm. múíník[úm]
et id territorium commune
 múíníkef. teref. fusíd. [ínm]
in communi territorio esset et
 eíseís. sakarakleís. í[ním]
eius sacrarii et
 tereís. fruktatiuf. fr[—⁶—]

B—converse

ekkom. [svai —¹¹—]
Item [si alterutri]
 trífbarakav[úm hereset(?)]
aedificare uolent
 límitú[m.] pernum. [puf(?)]
limitum tenus, ubi
 herekleís. físnú. mef[ú]
Herculis fanum medium
 5 íst. ehtrad. feihúss. pú[s]
est, extra muros, qui
 herekleís. físnam. amfr
Herculis fanum circum-
 etpertviam. pússtí[s]
dant, ad uiam qui stant,
 paí. íp. íst. púst. in slagím
quae ibi est secundum confinium,
 senateís. suveís. tangi
senatus sui sentent-
 10 núd. tríbarakavúm. lí
ia aedificare li-
 kítud. // ínm. fúk. triba
ceto. // Et haec aedi-
 rakkiuf. pam. núvlanús
ficatio, quam Nolani
 tríbarakat. tuset. ínm
aedificauerint, et
 úttíuf. núvlanúm. estud
usus Nolanorum esto.
 15 ekkum. svái. píd. abellánús
Item si quid Abellani
 tríbarakat. tuset. fúk. trí
aedificauerint, ea aedi-
 barakkiuf. ínm. úttíuf
ficatio et usus
 abellánúm. estud. // avt
Abellanorum esto. // Sed
 púst. feihúf. pús. físnam. am
post muros, qui fanum circum-
 20 fret. eiseí. teref. nep. ábel
dant, in eo territorio neque Abel-
 lanús. nep. núvlanús. píđum

graph, beginning with a new line hence not otherwise marked, may be surmised (in part A, line 11). Adding the beginning of Parts A and B, one gets a total of eight paragraphs.

A—obverse

territorii fructuscapio ?

[—(1).] múníká. pútúrá[mpíd]

? communis utrorumque

[fus]íd. // avt. núvlanú[s. 7]

esset. // Sed Nolani ?

[—] herekleís. fíisnú [—3]

? Herculis faníum ?

[—25] píspíd. núvlan [—9]

? quisquam Nolanorum ?

(Of line 26 only traces visible;
then five, at the most ten lines
completely destroyed.)

B—converse

lani neque Nolani quidquam

tríbarakat. tíns. // avt. the

aedificauerint. // Sed the-

savrúm. púd. e(1)seí. teref. íst

saurum, qui in eo territorio est,

pún. pátensíns. múníkáð. ta[n]

cum aperirent, communi sent-

25 ginúd. pátensíns. íním. píð. e[íseí]

entia aperirent, et quid in eo

thesavref. púkkapíd. ee[stít]

thesauro cumque exstat

[a]íttíúm. álttram. álttr[ús]

portionum alteram alteri

[f]erríns. // avt. anter. slagím

auferrent. // Sed secundum confinium

[a]bellanám. íním. núvlanám

Abellanum et Nolanum,

30 [s]úllad. vífú. uruvú. íst. pedú X

ubique via uruata est pedum X,

[e]ísaí. víaí. meísaí. teremén

in ea via media termi-

[n]iá. stáiet.

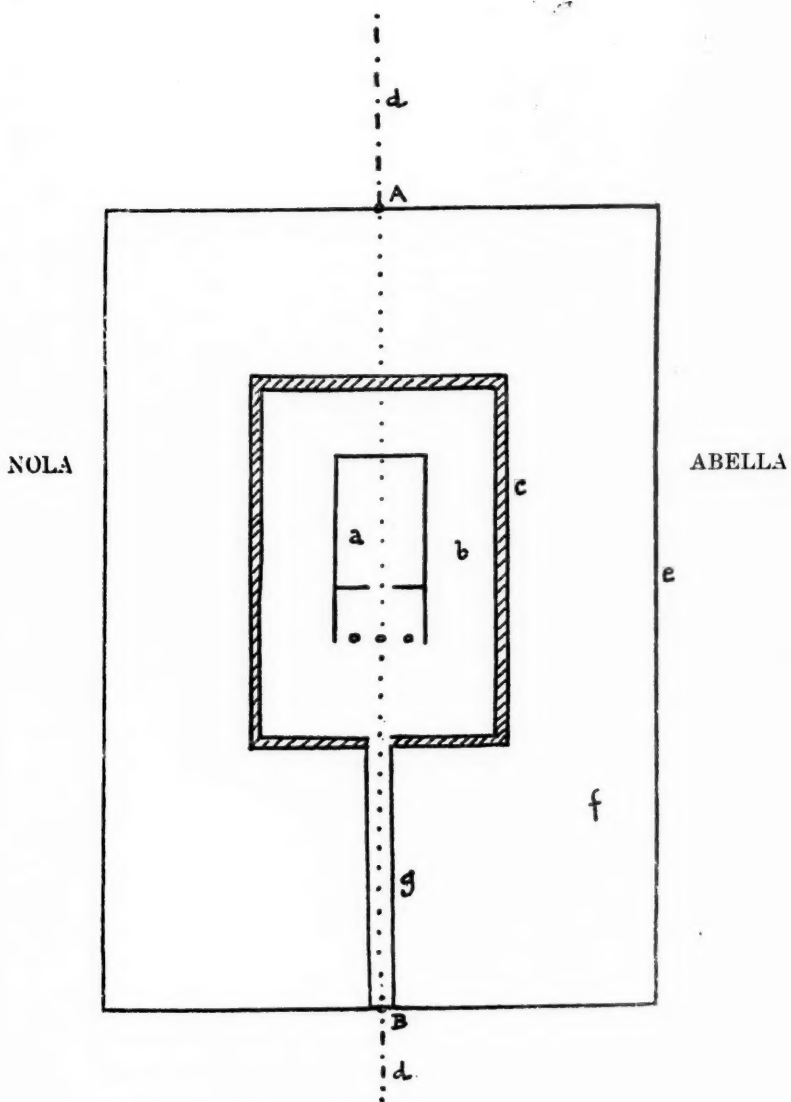
na stant.

II. ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

1: "Maius Vestricius, (son of) Maius ? , designated (?) ? quaestor of Abella, and Maius Lucius, (son of) Maius ? , meddix of Nola, and the deputies of Abella, and the deputies of Nola, who by the decision of their senate [i.e., of their respective senates] were deputies of either side, thus agreed [literally: To Maius Vestricius . . . it was thus suitable] :

2: The sanctuary of Hercules which lies by [i.e., amidst, athwart] the dividing line [separating the townships of Nola and Abella] /d/, and the land /f/ which lies by [i.e., amidst, inside] this sanctuary and which lies between [i.e., within] the external (?) boundaries /e/, which boundaries are approved by common decision, ? so that this sanctuary and this common land /b/ should lie within land /f/, and that the usufruct of this sanctuary and the usufruct of this land /f/ ? should be common of [i.e., belong to] both sides.

3: But the Nolans . . . the temple of Hercules . . . whatever Nolan . . .



- a fíisnú 'temple'
- b terúm púst feihúss 'land inside walls'
- c feihúss 'walls'
- d slagi- 'township boundary'
- e teremenniú '(external) boundaries'
- f terúm múinikúm 'common land'
- g viú 'path'

Fig. 1.

4: Likewise, if either party shall wish to build up to the boundaries /e/ where the temple of Hercules /a/ stands in the center, [albeit] outside the walls /c/ which surround the temple of Hercules /a/ [and] which stand up to the path /g/, which there is according to [i. e., follows] the dividing line /d/, then let it be permitted to build [there] according to the decision of the senate of either concerned party.

5: And this building which the Nolans will have built shall also be [for] the use of the Nolans. Likewise, if the Abellans will have built anything, this building shall also be [for] the use of the Abellans.

6: But beyond [i. e., inside] the walls /c/ which surround the temple /a/, on that land /b/ let neither the Abellans nor the Nolans build anything.

7: But the treasure, which is on this land /b/, when they open it, let them open it by common decision, and whatever is contained in this treasure, let one side receive the other of the shares [i. e., let each side receive a share].

§ 8: But along the dividing line /d/, wherever the path /g/, ploughed, [i. e., the path bearing or continuing the plough-marked township boundary; or: . . . wherever the path /g/, the boundary . . .] is ten feet [wide], in the center of the path /g/ lie the township boundaries /d/.

III. SYNOPSIS BY PARAGRAPHS.

§ 1: This is the praescript, listing the participants in the deliberations concerning the ordinance, and their offices and credentials.

§ 2: The temple and the land around it, that is, the sanctuary as a whole, bounded by the external boundaries /e/, is the joint property of both Nola and Abella, as is the income derived from it.

§ 3: (Destroyed)

§ 4: Permission may be granted by the senate of either Nola or Abella to build on the jointly owned land albeit only on the lot /f/ outside the walls /c/, and not on the plot /b/ inside the walls, which is reserved for the temple /a/.

§ 5: Proprietorship and the use of any building that is erected,

remain with that community, either Nola or Abella, which constructed the building.

§ 6: It is not permitted to either Nolans or Abellans to build on the land /b/ that lies immediately around the temple proper, inside the walls /c/.

§ 7: The treasure which is deposited on the inner lot /b/ (most likely inside the temple itself), may be opened only by common consent of the two parties, and having been opened must be divided equitably.

§ 8: Where the path /g/ leading to the opening in the walls /c/, the entrance into the sanctum /b/, coincides, upon the common land /f/, with the course of /d/, the boundary marker between the two townships, there the boundary shall lie in the middle of the path.

IV. COMMENT, EXPLICATION.

Part A—obverse.

Lines 1-10 (§ 1): This paragraph is simple enough, apart from (for the present purpose irrelevant) difficulties concerning the names and the official titles of the participants.

Line 11 and passim: I translate consistently **sakaraklúm** as 'sanctuary' and **fíisnú** (*fanum*) as 'temple.' This distinction is essential since the provisions attaching to the sanctuary as a whole are different from those concerning the temple alone. I do think, however, that **fíisnú** includes not only the temple building itself but also the plot /b/ inside the walls /c/, forming something like a sacred precinct. (This usage agrees, incidentally, with the etymological meaning of *templum* as 'a section,' that is, a piece of land carved out and set aside for special, ritual purposes; cf. *τέμνω* 'I cut').

Line 11: I translate the (in any event supplied) word **úp** as 'amidst,' or here better 'athwart,' rather than as 'by, along.' Other occurrences of it, on the *Tabula Bantina* line 14 (*op toutad*) and line 23 (*op eizois*), while commonly rendered as 'apud populum' and 'apud eos,' can properly be translated as 'amidst (in the presence of) the people' and 'amidst (in the presence of) them.'

Line 13: For my translation of **úp eísúd sakaraglúd** as 'amidst (inside) the sanctuary' rather than 'by the sanctuary,' see the preceding note. I understand **úp**, then, as expressing a relation of inclusiveness, or local congruence, or insideness, and not just nearness or vicinity. The Latin cognate is, of course, *ob* and not *apud*.

Lines 11-23 (§ 2): It is important to note here that the text provides, however awkwardly, that the extraterritorial or jointly owned common land around the temple, forming the **sakaraglúm** or sanctuary in its entirety, consist of two carefully separated portions: that between the external boundaries /e/ and the walls /c/, which corresponds to /f/ on the sketch, and that inside the walls, the temple lot or sacred precinct proper /b/. §§ 4 and 6 show that these two lots are destined for different, clearly circumscribed uses.

For none of the boundaries and pieces of land, however, do we have any indication of size, excepting possibly the width of the path /g/ in § 8. But this need not disturb us. The boundaries were surely marked somehow in situ, and since no professional lawyer, or even a good stylist, seems to have had a hand in drafting the ordinance, legal accuracy and unambiguity do not characterize this text.

Note also that the syntax of § 2 is not altogether clear: the relative clause **úp slaagid púd íst**, referring to **sakaraglúm**, is never concluded—except possibly (one may hope) at the end of line 16, where four to seven letters are missing. Filling this gap might also explain **amnúd**, at the beginning of line 17, by some translated as '*causa*' (preposition, 'owing to') but without being fitted into the context. The style of the inscription is a bit involved and lacking in elegance at various other places also.

Line 24-? (§ 3): This portion is destroyed. Since the number of missing lines is not certain, I prefer, like Vetter and unlike Buck, to resume with line 1 on the reverse side.

Part B—reverse.

Line 7: I read, with Vetter, **pussti<s>t** '*qui stant*,' and, also with Vetter, I translate **pert** as '*usque ad*' rather than '*trans*.' (See also **perñum** '*tenus*' in line 3.) The walls, then, surround

the sacred precinct /b/ and extend on either side up to the path, where there is left an aperture permitting entrance. The path itself actually coincides with the line dividing the two townships. In other words, the boundary line /d/ traverses the entire sanctuary. (On the course and the nature of the boundary within the sanctuary see below.)

Lines 1-11 (§ 4): Note again the important distinction between land within and without the walls /c/.

Line 19: I translate **púst**, generally rendered as '*post*,' as 'beyond, inside.' A location 'beyond the walls,' if one approaches the walls from the outside (as does this inscription, so to speak) is equivalent to 'inside the walls.'

Lines 18-22 (§ 5): Now the repeatedly emphasized distinction between the plots /f/ and /b/ is finally implemented. On /f/, outside the walls of the sanctum /b/ and inside the outer boundaries /e/, both Nolans and Abellans may build, with permission of the respective senates; but on the lot /b/, which is more stringently protected against profanation owing to its vicinity to the temple itself, no one may build.

Unfortunately, no clue is given anywhere in the text as to what types of buildings are involved here, and what purposes they may have served. Since also the true dimensions of the areas and of the temple are nowhere stated, it is difficult if not impossible to guess even at the possible size of the structures. Nor has archaeological exploration concerned itself with discovering the site, and no remains of temple or buildings have been uncovered.

Lines 22-28 (§ 6): This section is simple enough, and editors largely agree on reading and translation.

Line 28: **anter slagím** is generally translated as '*inter confinium*' or the like. It is difficult to picture just what 'between the boundary' could mean, or what it would represent at the site of the sanctuary. Buck translates the phrase as 'between the boundaries of Nola and Abella.' This is not helpful because, the territories of Nola and Abella being contiguous and the boundaries, at least along the stretch here involved, being continuous, nothing can lie between them. Moreover, by trans-

lating the singular **anter slagím** with the plural '*inter finis*,' one really alters the original without sufficient cause. And even though '*inter finis*' means 'between the boundaries,' that is, 'in the territory,' it can scarcely signify something like 'between the territories.' (See Buck's note on p. 229, comment on line 12.)

I therefore translate **anter** by 'within, along,' which gives sense to the passage, and is also linguistically defensible. True, **anter teremníss** (line 14 above) was properly rendered as 'between the boundaries' (cf. *inter finis*); and similarly on two of the so-called *eituns* inscriptions, the phrase **anter tiurrí íní ver** (or **verú**) was correctly translated as '*inter turrim et portam*.'³ Also on two other *eituns* inscriptions⁴ **anter** can be translated as '*inter*' even though the noun following it is, grammatically, in the singular: **anter tiurrí X íní XI** 'between tower no. 10 and (tower) no. 11,' and **an[ter tr]íibu Ma. Kas-tríkiíeis íní Mr. Spuriíeis L.** 'between the house of M. K. and (that) of M. S. son of L.' But it should be noted that in the last two examples **anter** goes, if not with an object in the grammatical plural, then at least with a plurality of objects according to meaning, whereas **slagím** on the *Cippus* is unmistakably a grammatical singular and a single item, namely, the boundary line separating the townships of Nola and Abella, with nothing to put 'in between.'

When we turn to the cognate Umbrian *ander-*, we find unfortunately no occurrence of it as a preposition. As part of a compound it is used several times in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* (VIa6, VIa7, Ib8, VIb41, IIa16). But it is significant that the translation and the understanding of all these passages are far from certain precisely because of the prefix *ander-* or **anter-**: editors operate with asterisked Latin compounds of *inter-* or simply leave lacunae with question marks. A reexamination of these words in Umbrian is also indicated.

Line 30: uruvú, a hapax legomenon in Oscan, is a crucial word in my interpretation. Buck glosses it as '*curua, flexa* (?)', as do most others, unless, like Vetter, they do not translate it at all. My translation 'ploughed' relates the word to Latin *uruare* 'to plough' or 'to mark a boundary by means of a furrow,' and

³ See Buck, nos. 14 and 15, pp. 242-3; Vetter, nos. 23 and 24, pp. 54-5.

⁴ See Buck, nos. 16 and 17, p. 243; Vetter, nos. 26 and 25, pp. 55-6.

has to do with the well-known custom of defining the boundaries of towns through a ploughed furrow. See Festus 514, 22 (ed. Lindsay): *uruat: Ennius in Andromeda significat circumdat ab eo sulco qui fit in urbe condenda uruo aratri, quae fit forma simillima uncini curuatione buris et dentis, cui praefigitur uomer.* In addition to confirming the custom of marking boundaries by ploughing, Festus adds here a definition of *uruus* which connects this part of the plough with *buris* or *bura*, the curved part of the plough handles, described by Ernout-Meillet as '*mancheron de la charrue*,'⁵ perhaps translatable as 'plough tail,' the piece below the handle gripped by the farmer. Since this piece is, as Festus says, curved, some translate *viú uruvú* as 'curved road' or the like. I prefer, instead, to take *uruvú* as a feminine verbal adjective related to *uruare* (*uruvú* 'ploughed' from **uru-uos*, like Oscan *sipus* 'knowing' from **sep-uos*, cf. Latin *sapere*; or like Oscan *facus* 'made' from **fac-uos*, cf. Latin *facere*; or like Latin *mortuus* 'dead' from *mrt-uos*); but one could also conceive of it simply as a feminine noun meaning 'furrow.' That is to say, I emphasize in the etymology and translation of *uruvú* the fact that it has to do with the plough and ploughing, and in particular, like Latin *uruare*, the ploughing of a single furrow to define a land boundary, while I ignore the allusion by Festus, pursued by others, that it has to do with the notion of curve or, primarily or secondarily, with any specific curved part of the plough, be it the share, the beam, or the tail.⁶

And finally, all things considered, it is by no means impossible that *uruvú* means simply 'boundary,' and I have allowed for this, the simplest of all possibilities, in my translation. Certainly both etymology and context encourage this view.

⁵ A. Ernout-A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (3rd ed., Paris, 1951). In the 4th ed. (1959): "*dicitur pars aratri posterior decurata*, Non. 80, 16."

⁶ Derivatives of Latin *uruare* still exist in Sardinia, according to Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (3rd ed., Heidelberg, 1933), no. 9092: Campidanian *orbada*, North Sardinian *alvada*, both meaning 'plough-share.' Again one notes the emphasis on the more functional and more characteristic part of the plough, if not the whole plough, than on the handle bars. (It is strange that *alvada* is not listed in Max Leopold Wagner, *Dizionario etimologico sardo* [Heidelberg, 1957 ff.]; I cannot check on *orbada* because the work has not so far [November 1958] progressed beyond the third letter of the alphabet.)

Lines 31-32: I realize that **teremenniú** (and **teremniss**) had referred, on previous occurrences (Part A, lines 14 and 15), to the external boundaries /e/ of the sanctuary, whereas here the word denotes another boundary altogether, that between the townships, generally called **slagi-**. It would not really be odd to find several synonyms in use for the term boundary. (Also **líimitúm** occurs, Part B, line 3. And **uruvú**, too, as I just suggested, may be so classified.) Yet there may be another explanation which would allow, at least, for some synonyms to have specialized functions. And those linguists who hold that no two so-called synonyms are ever *wholly* synonymous may find themselves on familiar ground.

The particular piece of **slagi-** which is here termed **teremenniú** lies inside the sanctuary, on jointly owned ground, and most likely was not marked in the same way as the rest of /d/. Perhaps the etymology of **slagi-** can be used in determining the character of the line, and possibly Buck's suggestion (p. 75 § 114) concerning this difficult and intransparent word, comparing it with the Old Irish *slicht* 'track' or *slige* 'street,' has merit. If so, then **slagi-** contains, like French *route* 'road' from Latin *rupta* (*scil. uia*), the notion of digging or ploughing up the ground. But **teremenniú** is devoid of such a connotation and is therefore fittingly used for this special stretch of **slagi-** on neutralized ground.

But if **teremenniú** excludes the notion of ploughing, how can we combine this view with a text that says, in fact, that the **teremenniú** lie in the middle of a **viú uruvú**, a path that is ploughed, and ploughed, no doubt, for the very purpose of marking a boundary?

I should suggest that the word **uruvú** signifies specifically the mark left by a ploughshare. And since ancient ploughs, which merely stirred the earth but did not turn over a broad slice of soil, actually left but a narrow trace on the ground, a path could be so marked without becoming unusable. But **slagi-**, on the other hand, was a more powerfully marked boundary, a ditch—perhaps traditionally related to the mere symbolic track of the ploughshare circumscribing the territory of a town, but here deepened and strengthened, possibly because, as the present controversy shows, Nola and Abella had a history of boundary quarrels.

Whether the adjective **uruvú** could be applied to the track of the dividing line /d/ only so far as it coincided with the path, or to its entire course within the sanctuary between points A and B, or to the pieces on the territory /f/, it is impossible to say: the text gives no sure information.

There is even a possibility, as I indicated in my English translation, that the **viú uruvú** does not mean that the path is actually ploughed, but merely that it coincides with, or continues, the plough-marked boundary /d/. If it is true that the **slagi-** is considerably more than the traditional plough-trace, then it may seem odd that in this interpretation it is referred to merely as **uruvú**. But there is no need to worry about this because, as I said, the **slagi-** also has its origin in the traditional ploughed line, no matter how, for some reason, it is reinforced in the present instance.

My translation of the final section of the *Cippus Abellanus* establishes, then, the following situation. There was the traditional ploughed boundary line /d/, a deep furrow, or a ditch called **slagi-**, separating the townships of Nola and Abella from each other. The sanctuary of Hercules, circumscribed by the limits /e/, straddled it. We do not know whether the sanctuary was there first and the township boundary later run through it, or whether the sanctuary was so placed as to be bisected by the already existing boundary—but the result is, in any event, that the sanctuary came to be declared extraterritorial, or a joint possession of both towns, with responsibility and privilege equally divided. As a consequence, the boundary line /d/, to the extent that it lay within the limits /e/ of the sanctuary, was neutralized. What part of it, if any, was marked by a token scratch on the ground it is impossible to say, although the text seems to indicate that at least the piece coinciding with the path bore a plough-mark. (I have indicated this condition by drawing the portion of /d/ between points A and B as a dotted line on my sketch. I should not necessarily insist on the kind of symmetry my sketch shows, though it would not be unreasonable to presume such an arrangement, regardless of what existed first, the boundary or the sanctuary.) Nola and Abella, then, having surrendered proprietary claims, could not but forego the marking, within the sanctuary, of the township boundary by means of the **slagi-**, a ditch or furrow which was not only

unnecessary but would also have been defacing. There was, in any event, the path. If *uruvú*, once one has accepted it as meaning 'ploughed,' is understood literally, either for the extent of the path or throughout the sanctuary, then a line was actually drawn, however perfunctorily. But if *uruvú* means just 'boundary,' then the inscription says no more than that path and boundary coincided. Whatever one's preference on this detail (and I do not for the moment see how to convert preference into certainty), in essence my interpretation of the ordinance remains, I believe, acceptable.

ERNST PULGRAM.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

TACITUS' TECHNIQUE OF CHARACTER PORTRAYAL.

It has been sometimes said that Tacitus was the individual who introduced man's personality into history. On the basis of what has survived of the ancient historians, this statement would appear to be well justified. Of his predecessors whose works have come down to us, Thucydides' interest in his characters as individuals is certainly subordinate to his great pattern of historical causation; the characters are the pawns of historical forces rather than the movers. In the history of Livy, the characters are mainly a continuous stream of splendid heroes who have helped make Rome the brilliant star of the world, and who bask in reflected glory. It is true that in the *Bellum Catilinae* and the *Iugurtha* of Sallust, the chief characters are given full and individualized treatment. Syme has recently shown how a number of Tacitus' character sketches "advertise a Sallustian parentage or at least affinity,"¹ but it must be remembered that the above works are monographs, giving the account of a single event, and do not purport to cover the history of an extended period of time. Unfortunately the *Historiae* of Sallust are too fragmentary for us to form any judgment.² On the basis of the extant historical writings, then, the study of extensive character portrayal must begin with Tacitus.

Explanations as to why Tacitus so greatly emphasized character portrayal are several. Undoubtedly the influence of Sallust may be assumed, as it is generally assumed in matters of style. Another major influence upon Tacitus was the literary atmosphere of the times, which, among other things, was thoroughly permeated with satire. Persius, Martial, Petronius, and Juvenal all may be considered representatives of this spirit which tended to focus the attention of the writers upon personalities, and, more especially, upon their faults. Tacitus' strong oratorical training, according to Miss Walker,³ supplied him with certain

¹ R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 196 ff., pp. 353 ff.

² For this reason it is difficult to evaluate objectively Syme's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 354) that Tacitus "aims at a general and pervasive adaptation of Sallust. . . ."

³ B. Walker, *The Annals of Tacitus* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1952), pp. 204 ff.

rhetorical stereotypes, e. g., the tyrant, the informer, the victim, who were frequently used as models for the historical characters, but not always with complete success. Mendell, on the other hand, sees in Tacitus' character portrayal primarily a treatment derived from the drama in which there is "one figure around whom action centers and minor characters who contribute to it in greater or less degree."⁴ The extent to which these various literary genres individually or collectively influenced Tacitus cannot of course be precisely determined, but the fact that they all in some way dealt with human character is of undoubted significance.

Furthermore, the trend in Roman historiography itself (culminating with Suetonius) was shifting more and more towards biography, a fact which would make it only natural that the greatest attention be paid to the portrayal of those personalities who, in the historian's judgment, were the prime movers of events. This brings us to the edge of deep water, namely, Tacitus' philosophy of history, or, more specifically, his interpretation of the causative relationship between the events described and the human beings therein involved. Marsh, in his defense of Tiberius,⁵ and more recently, von Fritz,⁶ have cogently maintained that Tacitus was little aware of the impersonal forces of history such as the economic, political, and sociological factors which produced such radical changes on the Roman scene during the first centuries B. C. and A. D. Consequently Tacitus felt

⁴ C. Mendell, *Tacitus* (New Haven, 1957), p. 142. Cf. also the statement of Syme (*op. cit.*, p. 308): "How soon a character shall enter the action or how long he can with advantage be kept off stage is an important problem of dramatic design." Could not the same description and comment apply equally to most epic poems and novels? And is there not the danger, with respect to the various literary influences, of confusing the literary genre with the use of certain techniques taken from that genre? Aristophanes, in writing the *Clouds*, was satirical, but was not writing Satire (the literary genre). Thus Tacitus, while certainly exhibiting characteristics which may be termed satirical, rhetorical, and dramatic, was neither a satirist, nor a rhetorician, nor a dramatist, but an historian, exceptionally well equipped with the literary techniques of his day. Mendell does wisely remind us (*loc. cit.*) "that while dramatic, the story is definitely not drama but history."

⁵ F. B. Marsh, *The Reign of Tiberius* (Oxford, 1931), p. 12.

⁶ K. von Fritz, "Tacitus, Agricola, Domitian, and the Problem of the Principate," *C. P.*, LII (1957), pp. 94 ff.

compelled to explain events in terms of personal forces, i. e., the traits of human personality. Since so many of the events were of a grim and unpleasant nature, it followed that the characters of those causing these events were bound to be equally grim and unpleasant.

Marsh further holds,⁷ and in this is supported by Alexander,⁸ that Tacitus "conceived of character as a wholly static and immutable thing" which might be compared to an indelible stamp with which one is born and with which one dies, without any basic change taking place. Thus, once the dominant personality trait of a human being is discovered, one (i. e., Tacitus) could understand and explain that person's actions throughout his life, and if the person involved were the dominant member of the society (the emperor), the actions governing the whole society, in the form of historical events, could, by extension, be understood and explained on the basis of the emperor's bent of character.⁹

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁸ W. H. Alexander, "The Tacitean 'Non Liqueat' on Seneca," *Calif. Stud. in Class. Phil.*, XIV, 8 (1952), pp. 357 ff.

⁹ Alexander gives an illuminating comparison of Strachey's method of character portrayal in *Eminent Victorians* with that of Tacitus. His description is the following: "The basic feature of the method is to establish early in the record an idea, designed to be firmly implanted in the reader's mind, of a certain fundamental point in the character of an individual who is to be biographized, which all that individual's choices and activities will be found (perhaps even forced) to illustrate." Alexander feels that this is essentially Tacitus' method too, and that it is a faulty one.

The above, strictly speaking, deals not so much with literary technique as with psychological approach to character and to human beings in general. This, too, has been explored of late. Cf. for example W. H. Alexander, "The Psychology of Tacitus," *C. J.*, XLVII (1952), pp. 326-8; J. Cousin, "Rhétorique et psychologie chez Tacite," *R. E. L.*, XXIX (1951), pp. 228-47; H. Bardon, "Sur Tacite psychologue," *Annales de Filologia Clasica*, Buenos Aires, VI (1953-54), pp. 19-35. (I have not yet been able to see the last article; none of the major libraries questioned possessed a copy of it.) Cousin fundamentally disagrees with the view expressed in the two articles of Alexander, i. e., that Tacitus tried to explain the actions of his characters on the basis of a definite pre-conceived pattern of personality. Cousin holds that the frequent use of alternatives (e. g., *sive . . . sive*) represents Tacitus' uncertainty of the correct psychological explanation of an action.

To return briefly to the comparison between Strachey and Tacitus, in

Support for this view concerning Tacitus' interpretation of history can be found, apart from the general biographical trend in Roman historiography, in the very life of the historian. It would seem logical, if the powerful, original style of Tacitus is to reflect more that a passive agglomeration of the various literary influences mentioned above, to seek the foundation of his concepts in the events which shaped and shook his own existence. Did he not witness and experience the remarkable difference between the tyrannical regime of Domitian and the moderate reigns of Nerva and Trajan? Would it not be understandable for Tacitus, enmeshed in the events of his day and unable to see them with perspective, to attribute this difference primarily or entirely to the difference of personality of the respective emperors, and from this explanation of contemporary events in terms of contemporary personalities, to make analogies of historical events in terms of historical personalities? One need not be psychiatrically oriented to understand much of Tacitus' historical bitterness against Tiberius and Nero to be derived from his contemporary bitterness against Domitian.

But now to return to our basic question, which is essentially stylistic. Even to casual readers of Tacitus, his characters give the impression of a portrayal at once bold and incisive, vigorous,

all fairness to the biographer, the different goals of biography and history should be emphasized. The biographer will use all available material, including historical events, to illuminate his reader's understanding of the subject, but obviously his ultimate goal is not the narration and explanation of historical events, but the most faithful possible portrayal of his subject. The historian also will use all available material, including biographical facts, to make his account as comprehensive as possible, but his ultimate aim is not the understanding of the individual but of the event. There exists between the biographer and historian a partial overlapping of paths but a distinct divergence of goals.

It seems justifiable for a biographer, in trying to comprehend the life of his subject, to seek a dominant motivation through which the subject's choices and actions may be understood. That Tacitus did likewise in his writing attests not to his confusion between biography and historiography, but to his interpretation of historical events principally as the result of the actions and decisions (and therefore the personalities) of the governing individuals. The biographer and the historian may, however, be reproached, as they are by Alexander and Marsh (*loc. cit.*), for assuming that if a dominant motivation be discovered behind one specific action or at one specific period, this motivation will necessarily and permanently remain unchanged.

yet probing. This impression is most forcefully confirmed upon closer examination of his writings. The question whether these descriptions are accurate and historically justified has long been hotly debated and conclusions vary according to the character under discussion.¹⁰ This study, however, will not deal with the accuracy of Tacitus' historical evaluations, but will be an attempt to outline and analyze the literary technique by which he portrayed historical personalities in the *Annals* and *Histories*. The technique is extremely complex and any attempt to unravel completely this intertwined ball of devices, many of which are undoubtedly instinctive, would be unfortunate. For in terms of any true artist's technique, the sum is always greater than the parts. There do seem to be, however, certain general patterns, and it is these that we shall attempt to identify.

The first and most easily identifiable aspect of Tacitus' method of character portrayal is that which we may call "direct description." This device almost defies a simple definition, but its meaning can perhaps be made clear by opposing it at once to the other main devices of character portrayal found in Tacitus: innuendo, character contrast, and character interplay. The device of direct description is, of course, common to most narrative writing, and yet, in his works, Tacitus employs it in certain ways which seem to be peculiar to himself. We may therefore begin our analysis with an examination of this device.

In direct description, most often the author himself gives certain information or views which he has upon the character under discussion. In the case of the major characters, there are certain things which Tacitus almost always describes. Tacitus, as did most ancients, attached great importance to the lineage of the character, and will usually mention it, often with an appropriate comment. Thus he speaks of Tiberius as *vetere atque insita Claudiae familiae superbia*.¹¹ He speaks of Germanicus as the son of Drusus upon whom hopes of liberty had been placed. *Unde in Germanicum favor et spes eadem*.¹² Again

¹⁰ The above cited works of Marsh, Walker, Mendell, and Syme all treat aspects of this subject at considerable length. Cf. also E. Paratore, *Tacito* (Milano, 1951); E. Paratore, "La figura di Agrippina minore in Tacito," *Maia*, V (1952), pp. 32-81; E. Koestermann, "Das Charakterbild Galbas bei Tacitus," *Navicula Ohlonsiensis* (Leiden, 1956).

¹¹ *Ann.*, I, 4.

¹² *Ann.*, I, 33.

of Germanicus, *ei, ut memoravi, avunculus Augustus, avus Antonius*.¹³ In mentioning Gaius Cassius, he describes him as living up to his famous ancestors,¹⁴ and of Gnaeus Piso he says *insita ferocia a patre Pisone*.¹⁵

The description of physical appearance plays a minor role in Tacitus.¹⁶ Mention of this is incidental and made only when there is some unusual quality. Thus Corbulo is described as *corpore ingens*,¹⁷ Vatinius as *corpore detorto*,¹⁸ Titus as *decor oris cum quadam maiestate*.¹⁹ One of the possible reasons given for Tiberius' retirement from Rome is his shame at his own physical appearance which Tacitus joyfully describes: *quippe illi prae-gracilis et incurva proceritas, nudus capillo vertex, ulcero facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta*.²⁰

A far greater portion of the direct description given by the author is devoted to the personality of the character. Here Tacitus gives free rein to his interest in human beings and to his attempt to penetrate to their very essence. In many cases the description of personality given by Tacitus is in agreement with that found in other authors, such as Suetonius and Dio Cassius, which would imply a common source or tradition, especially for the reign of Tiberius. Yet, it is Tacitus' constant emphasis on personality which in large measure gives such vivacity to his characters. Let us look at some examples.

If any one impression remains of Claudius, it is certainly that

¹³ *Ann.*, II, 53.

¹⁴ *Ann.*, XII, 12.

¹⁵ *Ann.*, II, 43. Alexander, "The Tacitean 'Non Liqueat'" (cf. n. 8), sees in Tacitus a prejudice against foreigners.

¹⁶ Cf. P. Willeumier and P. Fabia, *Tacite* (Paris, 1949), p. 137: "Les qualités ou les défauts corporels ne l'intéressent guère; il les range parmi les avantages ou les désavantages vains et fortuits" (*Ann.*, XIII, 8: *specie inanum validus*; *Ann.*, XV, 48: *Aderant etiam fortuita, corpus procerum, decora facies*). Cousin (*op. cit.*, p. 235) feels that Tacitus emphasizes appearance because of his frequent use of words such as *facies*, *vultus*, and *species*.

¹⁷ *Ann.*, XIII, 8.

¹⁸ *Ann.*, XV, 34.

¹⁹ *Hist.*, II, 1.

²⁰ *Ann.*, IV, 57. For a full discussion of the relationship of personality and physiognomy cf. E. C. Evans, "Roman Descriptions of Personal Appearance in History and Biography," *H. S. C. P.*, XLVI (1935), pp. 43-84.

of an erudite fool. Of him Tacitus says: *nihil arduum videbatur in animo principis, cui non iudicium, non odium erat nisi indita et iussa*.²¹ A little earlier, after the death of Messalina, he is shown to be wavering in the choice of a wife: *ipse huc modo, modo illuc, ut quemque suadentium audierat, promptus*. . . .²² Another example can be seen in Drusus, who, being faced with the alternatives of clemency or harshness toward the rebellious troops, chose the latter; for, *promptum ad asperiora ingenium Druso erat*.²³ Poppaea, after due respect is paid to her lineage and physical qualities, is given the dubious tribute: *Huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum animum*.²⁴ Nor did Tacitus leave any doubt about his feelings towards Seianus, of whom he says:

Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator, iuxta adulatio et superbia, palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur.²⁵

Here also can be seen one of Tacitus' favorite stylistic traits, the play of verbal antithesis to achieve emphasis.

Tiberius, of course, receives his full share, and if any one trait of his may be singled out which Tacitus seemed to detest more than the rest, it was his alleged shrewd hypocrisy. The whole account of his reign is filled with allusions to this and with such descriptions as *proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere*²⁶ or *ambiguus an urbem intraret seu, quia contra destinaverat, speciem venturi simulans*.²⁷ Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, aroused Tacitus' admiration by her independence in the early books. He does, nevertheless, recognize her impetuosity later by saying: *Agrippina aequi inpatiens, domnandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat*.²⁸ Vitellius,

²¹ *Ann.*, XII, 3.

²² *Ann.*, XII, 1.

²³ *Ann.*, I, 29.

²⁴ *Ann.*, XIII, 45.

²⁵ *Ann.*, IV, 1. The parallels between these descriptions of Poppaea and Seianus and Sallust's Sempronia and Catilina are obvious, perhaps as Syme suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 353), made "openly and avowedly."

²⁶ *Ann.*, IV, 19.

²⁷ *Ann.*, VI, 1.

²⁸ *Ann.*, VI, 25.

that embodiment of the cardinal sins of sloth and gluttony, is spoken of as *luxu et saginae mancipatus emptusque*²⁹ and *contemptior in dies segniorque*.³⁰

An important variation in the process of direct description is found in the author's recounting some of the actions of the characters. These actions, in addition to their historical significance, are often highly indicative of personality and are inevitably one of the prime bases on which the reader formulates his opinion of the character. The actions of Germanicus, for example, are very closely followed, especially in his capacity as a general. His kindness towards his soldiers, his assisting them financially after a flood disaster, his visiting them personally, are all fully related;³¹ sometimes he is even so concerned with their feelings about himself as to go amongst them in disguise in order to sound them out freely.³² His unselfish generalship is epitomized by the description *quod arduum sibi, cetera legatis permisit*.³³ And finally, Germanicus may be said to reach the height of his idealization in the account of his visit to the marvels of Egypt.³⁴ For just as in Homer, where a large part of the admiration the reader has for Odysseus is due to the wonderful and amazing sights which he has seen, and which the reader himself would like to have seen, so also in this description does the reader unconsciously associate himself with Germanicus in beholding these marvels. This self-association on the part of the reader with Germanicus, the man who has seen the wonders of Egypt, seems strongly to reinforce the previous favorable description, rendering Germanicus a hero of almost epic quality. Certainly, according to the later descriptions of Tacitus, no mythical hero could have been more universally mourned upon his death than was Germanicus.³⁵

Among the descriptions of actions which reveal character, there must be cited the frenzied Bacchic scene in which Messalina and Silius partake, showing the full extent to which their madness had carried them.

²⁹ *Hist.*, II, 71.

³² *Ann.*, II, 13.

³⁰ *Hist.*, II, 87.

³³ *Ann.*, II, 20.

³¹ *Ann.*, I, 71.

³⁴ *Ann.*, II, 60 ff.

³⁵ *Ann.*, II, 69 ff. There is in this description almost an echo of *Iliad*, XXIV, particularly the mourning for Hector after his body was brought back.

At Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto autumnno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat. Urgeri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsultabant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo thyrsus quatens, iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere cothurnos, iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro.³⁶

The actions of Tiberius are given somewhat special treatment. It so happens that many of his actions, as described by Tacitus, are of a praiseworthy nature, but either their good effect is blunted by some insinuating remark on the part of the author, or they are at best passed over without comment. An example of the latter treatment can be seen when his generous aid to cities which were victims of an earthquake is described, along with his fair distribution of inheritances, and his dedication of temples.³⁷ But far more often are his apparently good actions negated by the accompanying remark of the author. After Tiberius had vigorously refused the title of *Pater Patriae* and had denied that he was engaging in *divinae occupationes*, along with other such flattery offered by the senate, the comment is: *Unde angusta et lubrica oratio sub principe qui libertatem metuebat adulationem oderat*.³⁸ When he rejects similar flattery in the form of Dolabella's proposal that he be given the power of debarring men whom he considered unfit for public office, the author remarks, *quanto rarius apud Tiberium popularitas, tanto laetioribus animis accepta*.³⁹ Even the apparently innocent action of giving the senate jurisdiction over certain questions of asylum rights in various eastern provinces is besmirched by the preceding statement: *Sed Tiberius, vim principatus sibi firmans, imaginem antiquitatis senatui praebebat postulata provinciarum ad disquisitionem patrum mittendo*.⁴⁰ Descriptions such as these are obvious fuel to the fiery debate as to whether Tacitus actually achieved his goal of writing *sine ira et studio*.⁴¹

Not content merely to describe the personalities and the actions of his characters in a purely external fashion, Tacitus often

³⁶ *Ann.*, XI, 31.

³⁷ *Ann.*, II, 47 ff.

³⁸ *Ann.*, II, 87.

³⁹ *Ann.*, III, 69.

⁴⁰ *Ann.*, III, 60.

⁴¹ Cf. Walker (*op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.) who sees in the discrepancies between character description and the stated action a failure in Tacitus' use of rhetorical type characters.

attempts to delve into their reasoning and to give his readers some explanation of their psychological state. Thus Messalina, near her death, is spoken of as *animo per libidines corrupto*.⁴² We are given an inkling of what Domitian was probably like in the lost portions of the *Histories*, from the account given of his motives while still a youth.

Domitianus sperni a senioribus iuventam suam cernens, modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat, simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus studiumque litterarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum et fratris se aemulationi subduceret, cuius disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.⁴³

The shrewd caution of Tiberius, so often cited as a motive for his actions, is always called to task, so that when he decides to save Gaetulicus from death resulting from a false accusation, the explanation is: *reputante Tiberio publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem magisque fama quam vi stare suas res*.⁴⁴ Even minor characters are sometimes given the benefit of Tacitus' psychological penetration. Of the prefect Aufidienus Rufus he says:

Quippe Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris prefectus, antiquam duramque militiam revocabat, vetus operis ac laboris et eo inimitior quia toleraverat.⁴⁵

Tigellinus' motives in saving Vinius' daughter are thus revealed:

Haud dubie servaverat, non clementia, quippe tot interfectis, sed effugium in futurum, quia pessimus quisque diffidentia praesentium mutationem pavens, adversus publicum odium privatam gratiam praeparat.⁴⁶

Likewise, Mucianus is said to have written frequently to the forces supporting Vespasian, saying that they should not carry their offensive beyond Aquila, *incruentam et sine luctu victoriam et alia huiusce modi praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus atque omne belli decus sibi retinens*. . . .⁴⁷ It need hardly be mentioned that the Tacitean characters given a creditable motive for an action are in a distinct minority.

All the above-mentioned methods of direct description are

⁴² *Ann.*, XI, 37.

⁴³ *Hist.*, IV, 86.

⁴⁴ *Ann.*, VI, 30.

⁴⁵ *Ann.*, I, 20.

⁴⁶ *Hist.*, I, 72.

⁴⁷ *Hist.*, III, 8.

naturally not mutually exclusive. In fact, more often than not, they are found linked together: lineage described with personality, personality with acts, acts with motives, and so on. Thus we have the action-personality description of Vitellius, when the forces of Vespasian are closing in upon him: *brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat, impar curis gravioribus*.⁴⁸ Caligula is presented to us as *nihil abnuentem, dum dominationis apisceretur, nam etsi commotus ingenio simulationum tamen falsa in sinu avi perdidicerat*.⁴⁹ The brave but confused Galba is shown in a somewhat favorable light in the face of a revolt.

Obvius in Palatio Iulius Atticus speculator, cruentum gladium ostentans, occisum a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba "Commilito" inquit, "quis iussit?"—insigni animo ad coercendam militarem licentiam, minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientis incorruptus.⁵⁰

Although Tacitus is not the kind of man given to humor, there are a number of instances where his character portrayal does assume a certain wittiness, although always with a bite or a sneer. Asinius Marcellus is spoken of as *Asinio Polllione proavo clarus neque morum spernendus habebatur nisi quod paupertatem praecipuum malorum credebat*.⁵¹ Vitellius is probably the most frequent victim of Tacitus' satirical humor. He seemed to be governed solely by his sensual pleasures for *numquam ita ad curas intento Vitellio ut voluptatum oblivisceretur*.⁵² With his end imminent, as disaster upon disaster overcame his forces, Vitellius could simply not be moved into taking any action. *Tanta torpedo invaserat animum ut, si principem eum fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur*.⁵³

There seem to be certain points of the narrative which are particularly favored by the author for presenting his descriptions. The death of a major character is one of those most frequently used, furnishing the author with an opportunity for a final summary and evaluation in the form of an obituary. Upon Galba's death, we have the following summary: aged 73 years at his death, he had lived through the reigns of five emperors, *alieno imperio felicior quam suo*; ⁵⁴ he was of a noble, wealthy

⁴⁸ *Hist.*, II, 59.

⁴⁹ *Ann.*, VI, 45.

⁵⁰ *Hist.*, I, 35.

⁵¹ *Ann.*, XIV, 40.

⁵² *Hist.*, II, 67.

⁵³ *Hist.*, III, 63.

⁵⁴ *Hist.*, I, 49.

family. His own character and ability, however, were not outstanding, for *ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus*.⁵⁵ As a person, he was neither jealous nor greedy, was kind to his friends and freedmen, and honest in his provincial administration. His reputation had nevertheless become overrated: *Maior privato visus dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset*.⁵⁶

The treatment accorded Tiberius upon his death is, as would be expected, quite elaborate. After stating once more his lineage and outlining the main events of his life, the author proceeds to divide his character into successive stages of wickedness, depending upon the restraining influence at hand. At first, as a private citizen under Augustus, he is said to have behaved in creditable fashion, but when he once came to the supreme power, at first he was *occultum ac subdolum fingendis virtutibus donec Germanicus ac Drusus superfuere*; ⁵⁷ then, stepping downward, he became *inter bona malaque mixtus incolumi matre*.⁵⁸ The next stage in the decline is seen as *intestabilis saevitia, sed obtectis libidinibus dum Seianum dilexit timuitve*,⁵⁹ but when Seianus, the last obstacle, is removed, our sinner descends to the lowest depths: *in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore et metu suo tantum ingenio utebatur*.⁶⁰

Minor characters will often be given their only description upon their death. This is in accordance with Tacitus' adherence to the annalistic tradition of recording all the important events of a particular year. Such is the memorable account of Memmius Regulus.

Eo anno mortem obiit Memmius Regulus, auctoritate constantia fama, in quantum praeumbrante imperatoris fastigio datur, clarus adeo ut Nero, aeger valetudine et adulantibus circum, qui finem imperio adesse dicebant, si quid fato pateretur, responderit habere subsidium rem publicam. Rogantibus dehinc, in quo potissimum, addiderat in Memmio Regulo. Vixit tamen post haec Regulus, quiete defensum et quia nova generis claritudine neque invidiosis opibus erat.⁶¹

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ann.*, VI, 51.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ann.*, XIV, 47.

In addition to the obituary technique, Tacitus often pauses for a description of personality the first time the character performs a significant action in the account. Sometimes the character does not even receive a second mention. The description, often of one sentence, is usually penetrating, revealing Tacitus' epigrammatic talent. We have seen above the treatment of the prefect Aufidienus Rufus, and that of Percennius might also be cited: *dux olim theatralium operarum, dein gregarius miles, procaz lingua et miscere coetus histrionali studio doctus*.⁶² Helvidius Priscus, whom Tacitus greatly admired along with his father-in-law, Thrasea, for their staunch and constant refusal to partake in the universal grovelling before the emperor, is fully described when he takes part in a senatorial debate, his first important action in this account.⁶³

When Antonius Primus, that successful soldier-of-fortune, first comes to the foreground in aligning himself with Vespasian, he is described in what is certainly one of the most brilliant characterizations of Tacitus.

Is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi damnatus inter alia belli mala senatorium ordinem recipaverat. Praepositus a Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse Othoni credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. Labantibus Vitelli rebus, Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit, strenuus manu, sermone promptus, serendae in alios invidiae artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor, pace pessimus, bello non spernendus.⁶⁴

Here indeed we can see how Tacitus' character portrayal is heightened by his remarkable style. Starting with *strenuus manu, sermone promptus*, we have a series of perfectly parallel phrases with an initial chiasmus to avoid monotony, and a closing epigram to insure remembrance.

We have thus far in our analysis of the device of direct description dealt solely with that description coming from the author himself in the process of his narration. The author as the source of description, it is true, accounts for the great bulk of characterization, and yet other sources are also used which

⁶² *Ann.*, I, 16.

⁶³ *Hist.*, IV, 5. Cf., however, Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁶⁴ *Hist.*, II, 86.

furnish added vividness to the whole picture. Quite often we will find one person in the account described by another, a process which not only gives variety to the author's descriptions, but adds a ring of authenticity to whatever impressions the author would like to create. In this type of description, we refer only to specific people as sources, or at most to a specific body of people, such as the senate. Indefinite sources such as *quidam*, *erant qui* will be dealt with later under the classification of innuendo.

We are given a concise idea of what was thought of Caligula in the following: *Passieni oratoris dictum perccebit neque meliorem umquam servum neque deteriozem dominum fuisse.*⁶⁵ When Corbulo was chosen to handle the disturbances in the East, it is the senate which reveals their reaction to him: *Laeti quod Domitium Corbulonem retinendae Armeniae praeposuerat, videbaturque locus virtutibus patefactus.*⁶⁶ By far the most effective accusation of Nero comes from the conspirator Subrius Flavus, when he is asked by Nero why he had broken his oath to him.

"Oderam te," inquit, "nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti; odisse coepi postquam parricida matris et uxoris, auriga et histrio et incendiarius extitisti."⁶⁷

This blunt and violent condemnation is so powerful because it is given, not as the author's opinion, but as that of an eyewitness to the atrocities committed by Nero. Hence there is created the impression that the feelings of disgust and hatred voiced by Flavus were undoubtedly shared by many others of that day.

Tiberius had the unenviable fortune of being spoken about by many people in Tacitus' account, but the most searing condemnation comes from his grandnephew, Drusus, as he lay on his deathbed, an event which was reported to the senate by the centurion Attius.

vocesque deficientis adiecerat, quis primo quasi per dementiam, funesta Tiberio, mox, ubi expes vitae fuit, meditata compositasque diras imprecabatur, ut, quem ad modum nurum filiumque fratris et nepotes domumque omnem caedibus complevisset, ita poenas nomini generique maiorum et posteris exsolveret.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Ann.*, VI, 20.

⁶⁷ *Ann.*, XV, 67.

⁶⁶ *Ann.*, XIII, 8.

⁶⁸ *Ann.*, VI, 24.

The senate became violently upset at this and made a pretence of protesting. Their real feelings about Tiberius, however, are reported.

penetrabat pavor et admiratio, callidum olim et tegendis sceleribus obscurum huc confidentiae venisse, ut tamquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet nepotem sub verbere centurionis inter servorum ictus extrema vitae alimenta frustra orantem.⁶⁹

In addition to the method of having the direct description of a character come from the author himself or from another character, we frequently find the device of having the character in question reveal himself. This is mostly done in the form of a speech which the character is purported to have delivered, although in one case we have a quoted portion of a letter written by Tiberius. The words of the speeches are of course written by Tacitus, but claim to contain the sense of what actually was said (*in hunc modum locutus fertur*⁷⁰), a procedure used by several previous historians.

With Tacitus, we have the good fortune, in one instance, to be able to compare the historian's version of a speech of Claudius with the original. It is the excellent speech in which Claudius urges that citizens from Gaul, as well as all other citizens, be eligible to hold public office, pointing out very cogently the originally alien quality of most of those at present eligible.⁷¹ The comparison of Tacitus' version with the original, shows, if anything, an improvement upon the original. It condenses much of the longwindedness of Claudius, and eliminates many of the pedantic qualities. In the Tacitean version, one gets the impression that a liberal and far-sighted administrator is speaking, one who had studied deeply into the history of his country, and who has learned many valuable lessons. One might almost conclude that Tacitus was in full accord with these views and in order to give them a more powerful effect, clothed them as nicely as possible.

The staunch and learned mind of Cremutius Cordus is revealed in his eloquent speech to the senate defending the history which he had written in which he had eulogized Brutus and had called Cassius the last of the Romans.⁷² His excellent defense is a

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Hist.*, I, 15.

⁷¹ *Ann.*, XI, 24.

⁷² *Ann.*, IV, 34.

strong bid for the freedoms of speech and "press," and remembering Tacitus' bitter words in the *Agricola* against the suppression of these freedoms under Domitian, we can well presume that he himself was in sympathy with the sentiments expressed.

The speech of Galba,⁷³ on his adoption of Piso, is full of political wisdom, and as such, is somewhat incongruous with the overall picture given of Galba: a kind, honest man, good military leader, but extremely weak and incompetent as a statesman. The selection of Piso as the best man available to rule the state, the reflection that the Roman government has now reached a stage where it cannot revert to a republican form, but must be administered by one man, and the final warning that the Romans can endure neither total slavery nor total liberty, sound strange on the lips of the usually short-sighted Galba. It may be possible that Galba was one of the many men in power whose words far outshone his deeds. It may also be possible that Tacitus is here using Galba more or less as a mouthpiece for his own views, although if the speech of Claudius is to be used as a criterion, Tacitus did not alter the basic ideas of the speaker. The explanation most favorable to Tacitus' consistency as a literary artist would be that the excellent ideas expressed in the speech were Galba's revealing a political insight in the speaker which unfortunately was rarely manifested in his actions.⁷⁴

The speeches of Tiberius, like all his other actions, are accorded unfavorable treatment. Many of them are actually quite good in content, but are nevertheless generally derided in some way or other. When Tiberius spoke to the senate, wishing to put an end to the many flattering requests coming from the provinces for permission to erect temples dedicated to himself, saying that he wished to live in the hearts of men, if he so deserved, rather than in stone, the scoffing of Tacitus is reflected in the insinuation *quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur*.⁷⁵ Likewise in the portion of his letter which is given, in which he says "*perire me cotidie sentio*,"⁷⁶ Tacitus interprets it as if Tiberius were being eaten away by his own crimes.

We have seen then the three main aspects of the device of

⁷³ *Hist.*, I, 15.

⁷⁴ Cf. Koestermann, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

⁷⁵ *Ann.*, IV, 38.

⁷⁶ *Ann.*, VI, 6.

direct description which Tacitus uses in his portrayal of character: description by the author, description of one character by another, and description or revelation of the character through his own words. As previously shown, the greatest portion of the direct description is done in the first manner, by the author himself, but this is most effectively supplemented by frequent use of the other two.

Another principal device used by Tacitus in his character portrayal is that of innuendo, where the author reveals his feelings concerning the character through implication rather than direct statement. This is effected in a variety of ways. Rumors or hearsay about a character from indefinite sources are frequently reported (*constat, erant qui, quidam, populus, vulgus*), and undoubtedly reflect some choice, conscious or unconscious, on the part of Tacitus. Secondly, in explaining certain actions or events in which important characters are involved, alternative motives or causes are frequently given (*seu . . . seu*) with that alternative preferred by the author generally placed last, in the position of emphasis. And finally, the most pervasive type of innuendo is found in the choice, usage, and juxtaposition of words and ideas which permit the author to give a definite tone or coloring to a passage. A notable example of this is given by Professor Ryberg in her excellent study of Tacitean innuendo.

"Archelaus was hated by Tiberius because he had not shown him courtesy during his stay in Rhodes. When Tiberius had come into power he lured (*elicit*) Archelaus to Rome through letters of his mother, which made no secret of her son's enmity, but promised clemency if he would come to the capital. The king, unaware of treachery (*ignarus doli*) or fearing to show any suspicion, hastened at once to the city, where he was received harshly by the emperor (*immiti a principe*) and was accused in the senate. Not because of the charges which were invented (*non ob crimina quae fingeantur*) but because of worry and the weariness of old age, and because kings are not accustomed to being treated as equals, much less as inferiors, he ended his life *sponte an fato*. The impression of Tiberius' guilt is implicit in every line of the brief narrative, though nowhere can there be found any actual charge."⁷⁷

⁷⁷ I. S. Ryberg, "Tacitus' Art of Innuendo," *T.A.P.A.*, LXXIII (1942), p. 390. The reader is referred to this article for a full discussion with examples of the various forms of innuendo in Tacitus.

Although the various forms of innuendo are used separately by Tacitus, in many instances we find them combined with one another, making the total effect all the more powerful.

Professor Ryberg, in her aforementioned article, maintains the theory that innuendo was used by Tacitus, the literary artist, to create certain impressions in his readers' minds which Tacitus, the historian, could not give as certainties since his views were unsupported (or perhaps even contradicted) by recorded facts. Although this hypothesis does have a certain plausibility, it seems to place too great emphasis on a conscious effort by Tacitus to maintain his historiographical integrity by a scrupulous checking of references. It is extremely doubtful whether Tacitus followed the rigorous rules of scholarship set by modern historians, and whether he consciously and conscientiously distinguished recorded facts from what he sincerely believed to be facts, presenting the former by direct description, the latter by innuendo.

It would seem much more consonant with the artistry of Tacitus to look for the explanation of this essentially literary device in relation to its literary use. It should be first of all noticed that innuendo is used for the most part in the first six books of the *Annals*. It is occasionally employed for the court of Nero, but rarely in the *Histories* or minor works. The reason for this may seem somewhat obscure unless we realize that the device of innuendo is applied chiefly to Tiberius and to his times. And what could be more natural? In the case of Claudius, Nero, and the other emperors, it is open vices such as profligacy, slaughter, stupidity, and greed which are castigated. For these, vivid description, and not delicate finesse is needed. But in the case of Tiberius, where the chief vices exposed and inveighed against are carefully concealed hypocrisy and deceitfulness, something subtler and sharper, something more deeply penetrating and eventually more damning was found in the use of innuendo. Tacitus chose his weapons to suit the literary terrain. Innuendo then must be interpreted primarily as a literary, and not an historical device.

The last of the major devices which Tacitus utilizes in his portrayal of character is that of contrast. Contrast, in a sense the basis of all perception, is used by artists of every medium to attain a certain clarity or emphasis, coupled with a feeling

of balance or symmetry. Tacitus, with his literary gifts and his analytic absorption in people, fully sensed the effectiveness of the contrast of personality and made much use of it in his writings.

There are two general methods by which Tacitus achieves the effects of contrast: by direct comparison of characters, and by their dramatic interplay. The direct comparison is the simpler, and consists of describing, at appropriate points in the narrative, essential differences between the two characters under discussion. The actions and personalities of Tiberius and Germanicus, for example, are continually being contrasted. Thus in speaking of Germanicus, it is said, *Nam iuveni civile ingenium, mira comitas et diversa ab Tiberii sermone vultu, adrogantibus et obscuris.*⁷⁸ While Tiberius is described as being glad at the disturbances in the East so that he could have a pretext for transferring Germanicus there from Germany, Germanicus is shown as being all the more conscientious in his attempt to conquer Germany on behalf of Tiberius.⁷⁹ The colors here are certainly jet black and pure white. However, even in a contrast which is not so violent, Tiberius comes off on the wrong end. The luxury of young Drusus is spoken of by the people but as being preferable to the vices of Tiberius *solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret.*⁸⁰ On one occasion we have the comparison of a leader to his men, in the description of Vitellius and his army.

*Mira inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas, instare miles, arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae cunctentur . . . Torpebat Vitellius et fortunam principatus inertis luxu ac prodigiis epulis praesumebat, medio die temulentus et sagina gravis. . .*⁸¹

On another occasion we have a contrast between two characters given by a third character. Mucianus, in encouraging Vespasian to make his bid for the imperial power, says, *nec mihi maior in tua vigilantia parsimonia sapientia fiducia est quam in Vitellii torpore inscitia saevitia.*⁸²

Sometimes the contrast is not made between virtue and vice, but simply between two types of virtue, or two types of vice.

⁷⁸ *Ann.*, I, 33.

⁷⁹ *Ann.*, II, 5.

⁸⁰ *Ann.*, III, 37.

⁸¹ *Hist.*, I, 62.

⁸² *Hist.*, II, 77.

When Vespasian and Mucianus are compared, Vespasian is described as energetic in war, a man who did things for himself, was constantly on the go, unfastidious in regard to food and dress, who shared the hardships of his soldiers, and if he had any fault, it was his tendency to be avaricious. Mucianus was known for his magnificence, his wealth, high style of living, was a readier speaker than Vespasian, and a more experienced administrator and statesman.⁸³ Both have their good and even doubtful qualities, but a more disparate pair could hardly be found. A fine distinction in vices is found in those of Otho and Vitellius.

minus Vitellii ignavae voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur. . . . Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu saevitia audacia rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur.⁸⁴

A phenomenon found with great frequency in Tacitus is the introduction of minor characters by pairs, with an ensuing comparison of their personalities. This is undoubtedly due in large part to Tacitus' general stylistic tendency toward contrast, but it may very well also be an attempt (conscious or unconscious) on the part of the author to help his readers keep track of the great stream of characters which flows through his account. Contrast, giving vividness and emphasis to any description, would be of great value to the reader's or listener's memory. The parade of these coupled character presentations is quite extensive and a few typical examples may be cited.

In the narration of German affairs, the characters of Segestes and Arminius, the two German leaders, are introduced. Their contrast is given mainly through the speeches which they deliver.⁸⁵ Segestes is shown to be an ally of Rome, who believes that the Germans' best interests lie in their acquiescence to that great power, since both countries shared common interests, and peace was better than war. Arminius, his son-in-law, violently opposing this attitude, reveals himself as a strong nationalist, determined to brook no Roman domination, and threatening to repeat the defeat of Varus. Arminius, on two other occasions, is put in opposition to Germans of views differing from his own, once to his brother Flavus,⁸⁶ and another time to Maroboduus.⁸⁷

⁸³ *Hist.*, II, 5.

⁸⁵ *Ann.*, I, 57.

⁸⁷ *Ann.*, II, 45.

⁸⁴ *Hist.*, II, 31.

⁸⁶ *Ann.*, II, 9.

Faenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus, having been appointed praetorian prefects, are thus compared :

Quippe Caesar duos praetoriis cohortibus imposuerat, Faenium Rufum ex vulgi favore, quia rem frumentariam sine quaestu tractabat, Sofonium Tigellinum, veterem inpudicitiam atque infamiam in eo secutus. Atque illi pro cognitis moribus fuere, validior Tigellinus in animo principis et intimis libidinibus adsumptus, prospera populi et militum fama Rufus, quod apud Neronem adversum experiebatur.⁸⁸

Death too brings its comparison, as we see in the case of Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius.

Sequuntur virorum inlustrum mortes Domitii Afri et M. Servilii, qui summis honoribus et multa eloquentia viguerant, ille orando causas, Servilius diu foro, mox tradendis rebus Romanis celebris et elegantia vitae, quam clariorem effecit, ut par ingenio, ita morum diversus.⁸⁹

Interplay of characters, the second manner used by Tacitus to achieve contrast, brings forth the full literary talent of the author. It is here that the scene is so presented that we feel the impact of the characters upon each other, the spotlight falling now upon one, now upon another, but the presence of each, whether in the brightness or in the shadows, is always sensed. In the *Annals* we have the continual interplay between Tiberius and Germanicus. Their relationship is marked by the constant jealousy of Tiberius towards Germanicus which the latter felt but could not dissipate. When he is ordered to withdraw from Germany, he does so, *quamquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto iam decori abstrahi intellegeret*.⁹⁰ This still does not satisfy Tiberius and we later learn of his plotting against Germanicus after the latter's triumph in celebration of his German victory. The people, however, are observant of Tiberius' hostility toward their favorite, and *Germanico alienatio patrum amorem apud ceteros auxerat*.⁹¹ But even after the death of Germanicus, the former struggle manifested itself when Tiberius refused to allow a gold medallion to be made in honor of the hero.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Ann.*, XIV, 51.

⁸⁹ *Ann.*, XIV, 19.

⁹⁰ *Ann.*, II, 26.

⁹¹ *Ann.*, II, 43.

⁹² *Ann.*, II, 83.

The interplay of characters is especially evident with the later emperors, where intrigue and struggle for power played so prominent a part of the everyday life. The plight of Galba is shown as he was ruined by Vinius and Laco.

Invalidum senem (Galbam), Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco alter deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant.⁹³

A scene which is full of psychological insight and dramatic sensitivity occurs upon the death of Messalina, whose execution had been entrusted to Euodius the freedman.

Isque (Euodius) raptim in hortos praegressus repperit fusam humi, adsidente matre Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur: transisse vitam neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum. Sed animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum inerat: lacrimaeque et questus inriti ducebantur, cum impetu venientium pulsae fores adstititque tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis et servilibus probris. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspexit ferrumque accepit, quod frustra iugulo aut pectori per trepidationem admovens ictu tribuni transigitur.⁹⁴

Here the fine interplay between the sinful daughter and the forgiving mother, and between the two executioners, is to be especially noted.

The intrigue which abounded in the court of Nero provided perhaps the most extensive material for the interplay of characters. The whole atmosphere is most vividly described by Tacitus.

Certamen utrique (Senecae et Burro) unum erat contra ferociam Agrippinae, quae cunctis malae dominationis cupidinibus flagrans habebat in partibus Pallantem, quo auctore Claudius nuptiis incestis et adoptione exitiosa semet perverterat. Sed neque Neroni infra servos ingenium et Pallas tristi adrogantia modum liberti egressus taedium sui moverat. Propalam tamen omnes in eam honores cumulabantur, signumque more militiae petenti tribuno dedit optima matris.⁹⁵

It is by such descriptions as these that one can gain some idea of the pulse of that strange world and of the people who moved

⁹³ *Hist.*, I, 6.

⁹⁴ *Ann.*, XI, 37-8.

⁹⁵ *Ann.*, XIII, 2.

in it. Contrast then, by direct comparison and by character interplay, takes its place among the most significant devices of character portrayal.

We have seen how Tacitus, in his inimitable and brilliant fashion, by means of richly-varied description, deadly innuendo, direct contrast and dramatic interplay, has contrived to give the reader a unique portrayal of historical characters as he himself conceived of them. The various devices may be thought of as a series of powerful beacons focused from different vantage points upon the character under scrutiny, presenting to the viewer a true stereoscopic image. It may be remarked with justice that the most convincing portrayals are generally those of villains, while the virtuous are pale by comparison.⁹⁶ The total effect, however, is undeniably that of a literary *tour de force* which modern historians would probably hasten to avoid and which novelists would most certainly be anxious to achieve.⁹⁷

STEPHEN G. DAITZ.

CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK.

⁹⁶ Why this is so would be the subject of a complex literary-psychological inquiry. Is it, as some have claimed (cf. Alexander, "The Tacitean 'Non Liqueat'," pp. 368 ff.), primarily a literary question of it being more difficult to create a convincing noble character than a villain? Or were most of the evil traits in Tacitus' villains already part of the common tradition before Tacitus came to them? Or finally, is the answer to be found chiefly in the moral temperament of Tacitus, made grim and embittered by his experience with the villainy of Domitian and consequently harsh and sceptical in his judgment of human motives? The portion that each of these factors plays in Tacitus' character portrayal still remains unknown. What is certain is that Tacitus evaluated his characters principally on the basis of moral criteria; hence the emphasis on virtue and vice.

⁹⁷ Indeed, if one were attempting to relate Tacitus' technique of character portrayal to techniques found in forms of writing other than historiography, it would seem to adhere most closely, not to satire or to oratory or drama, but to the novel. For it is the novelist who has most readily at hand the various devices through which a full-bodied portrayal can emerge to the reader. Had the historical novel existed in his day, Tacitus would undoubtedly have been a master of the genre. This is no denigration of his literary genius. After all, *War and Peace* is, formally speaking, an historical novel.

THE INTERPRETATION OF PLATO,
TIMAEUS 49 D-E.

In the course of a recent article on the relation of the *Timaeus* to Plato's later dialogues (*A.J.P.*, LXXVIII [1957], pp. 225-66) Professor Cherniss argued (p. 245) that *Timaeus* 49 D-E says nothing at variance with *Cratylus* 439 D8-9 and *Theaetetus* 182 C9-D7 on the question of the proper way of designating "what is perpetually becoming," and he appealed to his article in *A.J.P.*, LXXV (1954), pp. 113-30, as a "proof" that any interpretation of the *Timaeus* passage as a proposal "to designate what is perpetually becoming as τοιοῦτον" is "self-refuting and incorrect." While agreeing with him that what the *Timaeus* passage says is far different from what the *Cratylus* and the *Theaetetus* say, I wish to argue that his own interpretation of it is self-refuting and incorrect, and that what the passage says is at variance with the assertions of the *Cratylus* and the *Theaetetus*. I will first give my own translation of the *Timaeus* passage and show in what respects it is at variance with assertions in the *Cratylus* and the *Theaetetus*; I will then examine Cherniss' translation.

Here is a bald translation of *Timaeus* 49 D-E:

Since thus never do any of these things¹ present the same appearance, of which of them can one confidently assert, without shame, that it is any definite "this" and not any other thing? It is not possible, but by far the safest course is to speak of them in the following way. Whenever we see a thing continually changing its appearance, fire for example, in every case we should not call fire "this," but "what is of such and such a kind," nor water "this," but always "what is of such and such a kind," nor anything else "this," as though it had some permanence, among the things which we point to with the use of the words "this" or "that," thinking that we are indicating something. For it slips away, not waiting to be called "that" or "this"² or any term which indicts them of being stable.³ We must not in fact apply

¹ Plato has just been speaking of the "elements" earth, air, fire, and water and of their apparent perpetual transformation into one another.

² Omitting, as Cherniss does, καὶ τὴν τῷδε.

³ The transition from singular to plural in this sentence suggests that Plato began the sentence with the subject "anything else" in mind, and

any of these terms; the description we must apply,⁴ in each and every case, is "the such and such which is perpetually recurring as similar"; thus we should call fire "what is always such and such," and so with everything that comes to be.

Translated in this way, the argument of the passage is, briefly, that since the visible world is one of perpetual change, it is necessary to distinguish between a right and a wrong way of describing it. "This" or "that" (τόδε καὶ τοῦτο) is always wrong, since these terms suggest a reference to something substantial and permanent, whereas in fact the sensible world is a world of transient, yet recurrent, qualities or groups of qualities (subsequently called "copies" or "likenesses" of the eternal realities—50C, 51A), which are properly described as "of such and such a kind" (τοιούτων). Thus the fact that the visible world is in continual flux does not entail that it is devoid of determinate and recognisable characteristics, but it does entail that there are no substantial and permanent "things" in it. Against this, both the *Theaetetus* and the *Cratylus* argue that the fact that the visible world is in continual flux *does* entail that it is devoid of determinate and recognisable characteristics, and make it clear that it is as illegitimate to apply the term "of such and such a kind" to any part of it as it is to apply the terms "this" or "that." Thus the *Theaetetus* argues that if everything in the sensible world is continually changing both in respect of place and character, then no description can meaningfully be applied to it, since it possesses no determinate characteristics whatsoever which can give any description significance (182C-183C). Not even the words "so" or "not-so" can be used to describe any aspect of it (183A), nor "this" nor "that" nor "any other word that brings things to a standstill" (157B; cf. 152D). Plato is, of course, here attempting to refute the thesis that knowledge is perception as based on the theory that *all things* are in change (he emphasises this point in 183C: κατὰ γε τὴν τοῦ πάντα κινεῖσθαι μέθοδον), and no doubt means to imply that for knowledge to be possible its objects must be other than sensibles. Yet even if

completed it with "the things which we point to . . ." in mind. It is of no significance.

⁴ Cornford is right, I think, in taking οὕτω (before καλεῖν) as "resuming the long phrase that precedes."

objects of knowledge are postulated free from the objections brought against sensibles, this would not in itself affect the alleged implications of the flux doctrine. In other words the implication that a sensible world in flux in all respects is a world which precludes the possibility of any significant description being applied to it is, if valid, as valid if Forms are postulated as if they are not. And, as Cherniss acknowledges, it is clearly implied by the *Theaetetus* that both "this" and "of such and such a kind" are equally inapplicable as descriptions of sensibles. Much the same argument appears in the *Cratylus* (439C ff.). Here it is said that what is in perpetual flux cannot properly be referred to as "this" or as "of such and such a kind," for it is never in any determinate condition (439D).

It is clear from this comparison of the *Timaeus* with the *Theaetetus* and the *Cratylus* that in the *Timaeus* Plato is contradicting the assertions of the two other dialogues and is no longer willing to accept what he had earlier propounded and accepted as implications of the theory that the sensible world is in flux. This is a reflection of the greater consistency of doctrine about the status of sensible "images" of Forms which is found in the late dialogues. A major inconsistency in the middle dialogues is that side by side with a theory which gives the sensible image a fundamental part to play in the recovery of knowledge there is a theory of perception which condemns the sensible world as an aid to knowledge, a theory which, as Sir David Ross has put it, is "a false and dangerous disparagement of all particulars, in the supposed interest of Forms."⁵ It is this attitude of disparagement which is found in the assertions of the *Theaetetus* and the *Cratylus*, and which leads Plato to exaggeration in finding, in the flux doctrine of sensible things, implications radically inconsistent with his assumption of the "participation" of sensible things in Forms and of their "likeness" to Forms. What the *Timaeus* does is to explain, through its doctrine of soul, the efficient cause of the ability of sensible particulars to function as images of Forms, and in the section (48E-52D) in which our passage occurs an attempt is made to specify more exactly the nature of the sensible image in relation to the Forms and to space, the result being a doctrine which, unlike that of the middle dialogues, is consistent with the granting to sensible

⁵ *Plato's Theory of Ideas*, p. 39.

images of an important rôle in the recovery of knowledge and consistent too with the attitude of the late dialogues as a whole towards the cognitive value of sense perception.⁶ Thus the discrepancy between (i) *Timaeus* 49D-E and (ii) *Cratylus* 439 D8-9 and *Theaetetus* 182 C9-D7 is explicable as the result of a development towards greater consistency in Plato's theory of knowledge. Professor Cherniss argues, however, that only by a mistranslation of *Timaeus* 49D-E can this discrepancy be found. For him Plato's doctrine with regard to sensibles is consistent not only within the middle dialogues, but also within the middle and late dialogues together. It is in defence of this view that he offers a new translation of the *Timaeus* passage.

Here is his translation of 49D-E:⁷

- 49 C7-D1 Since these thus never appear as severally identical, concerning which of them could one without shame firmly assert that this is any particular thing and not another? It is not possible, but by far the safest way
- 49 D5 is to speak of them on this basis: What we ever see coming to be at different times in different places, for example fire, not to say "this is fire," but "what on any occasion is such and such is fire" nor "this is water" but "what is always such and such is water" nor ever "(this)," as if it had some permanence, "is some other" of the things that we think we are designating as something when by way of pointing we use the term "this" or "that." For it slips away and does not abide the assertion of "that" and "this" or any assertion that indicts them of being stable. But (it is safest) not to speak of these as severally distinct
- 49 E1 but so to call the such and such that always recurs alike in each and all cases together, for example to call that which is always such and such fire and so with everything that comes to be.
- 49 E5

In this translation the distinction between "this" (τοῦτο) and

* For a more detailed discussion, with references, of the developments in Plato's views on sensible imagery, see my remarks in *O. Q.*, N. S., IV (1954), pp. 197-209.

⁷ *A. J. P.*, LXXV, p. 114. The translation here extends as far as 50A4, and on p. 125 is continued as far as 50 B5. But the crucial passage, as Cherniss recognises in his later article (*A. J. P.*, LXXVIII, p. 254), is 49 D-E and it is this which I shall principally consider. To determine the correct translation of 49 D-E is to determine the correct translation of the rest, as far as the discrepancy in question is affected.

"such" (τὸ τοιοῦτον) does not mark a distinction between two modes of description, incorrect and correct respectively, of a common object, but a distinction between two objects of description, "this" referring to what Cherniss calls "phases of the phenomenal flux" or "transient phenomena," "such" referring to the "distinct and self-identical characteristics" which "enter and leave" the Receptacle, the "likenesses" of the Forms. To give the passage this significance Cherniss' first step is to take "this" in 49 D2, 5 and 6 and "such" in 49 D5, 6, as subjects, and not, as in my translation, predicatively. The question whether "this" and "such" in D5 and D6 refer to different objects is not, however, simply the question whether "this" and "such" are subjects or predicates. To take them predicatively does, certainly, entail that they are different ways of describing the same object, but to take them as subjects does not entail that they refer to different objects. For it may be argued that the "this," as subject, in the assertions "this is fire" and "this is water" is intended by Plato to have an emphasis which will make his criticism of it a criticism *as a mode of description*. Cherniss assumes that no such emphasis is intended. For him "this" in D5 and D6 is merely taking up the antecedent relative clause ὁ καθορῶμεν . . . γιγνόμενον, and refers to a "transient phenomenon," while "such" is quite independent of that clause and different in its reference. I can see no grammatical impossibility about this. Granting this, the question now is whether or not the rest of the passage supports Cherniss' view of the emphasis and significance to be given to "this" and "such" in his translation. For the rest (D7-E2: μηδὲ ἄλλο . . . ἡγούμεθά τι) of the sentence being discussed, and for the following sentence (E2-4: φεύγει γὰρ . . . φάσις), the only significant difference between Cherniss' translation and my own is at the beginning, where while we each assume that τοῦτο προσαγορεύειν is implied as supplement to μηδὲ ἄλλο ποτὲ μηδέν in D7, I take the τοῦτο predicatively and take the phrase "as though it had some permanence" with ἄλλο μηδέν, Cherniss takes the τοῦτο as the subject of ἄλλο μηδέν and takes the phrase "as though it had some permanence" with τοῦτο. From this point up to E4 (. . . ἐνδείκνυται φάσις) our translations are substantially the same. Yet what Plato says here is fatal to Cherniss' thesis.

His first difficulty is the clause "the things which we point to

with the use of the words 'this' or 'that,' thinking that we are indicating something." A very special emphasis is given here (as it is in the next sentence) to the terms 'this' or 'that' (τόδε καὶ τοῦτο), and the seemingly obvious implication of the clause is that, since the use of the terms 'this' or 'that' carries with it the assumption that a definite "something" is thereby being indicated, it is wrong to apply these terms to what is *not* a definite "something." If this is Plato's point here, consistency seemingly demands that his point in the examples in the previous part of the sentence is that it is wrong to apply the terms 'this' or 'that' to what is not a definite "something," to fire or to water (D5, 6), which are continually changing their appearance (C7-D1, D4-5). These are "the things which we point to by the use of the words 'this' or 'that'." The antecedent to ὅσα in the clause ὅσα δεικνύντες . . . is ἄλλο μηδὲν (τούτων), which means any other of the things such as fire or water—the examples already given—which are said (in C7-D1) never to present the same appearance. Thus the sentence D4-E2 is saying that the terms 'this' or 'that' should not be applied to γιγνόμενα. Before substantiating, however, the apparently obvious implications of the clause ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθά τι, Cherniss' attempt to deny these implications must be considered. Having argued that in the previous part of the sentence τοῦτο is not being criticised as a term illegitimately applied to γιγνόμενα, it is essential for him to maintain this point for the τόδε καὶ τοῦτο at the end of the sentence. His first step is to argue that "the clause ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθά τι does not itself mean 'phenomena'" (n. 5, p. 117). "It means simply," he says, "X, where X is what we mean to designate as something when by using the deictic pronoun we say 'this is X'."⁸ This, according to Cherniss, makes the reference of the clause the predicates 'fire,' 'water,' 'earth,' etc., which are applied to 'this'

⁸ It is difficult to say whether or not Cherniss intends any shift in his position about the significance of 'this' when he talks about "using the deictic pronoun." His point about the contrast between τοῦτο and τοιοῦτον strictly depends on taking the τοῦτο in D5 simply as a *grammatical* pointer to its antecedent δ καθορώμεν . . . γιγνόμενον. Its function as a "deictic pronoun" in Cherniss' example here is an additional function. To ascribe this additional function to the τοῦτο in E1 goes a little way, perhaps, towards easing the transition to the significance of τοῦτο in the τόδε καὶ τοῦτο of 49 E2-3 and 50 A1-2. But this transition is, as we shall see, still fatal to Cherniss' thesis.

or 'that' "phase of phenomenal process," and makes the clause mean "not that you should not designate a phenomenon 'this' or 'that,' . . . but that you should not call the phenomenon anything (like 'fire' or 'water,' the examples already given) that is designated in such statements as 'this is X'" (p. 118). In other words, preserving the interpretation given to the previous part of the sentence, the meaning is that these predicates should not be applied to what "this" refers to ("a transient phenomenon") but to something else. This is an extremely ingenious attempt to avoid the apparently obvious implication of the clause—that 'this' or 'that' should not be applied to "phenomena." It is true of course, as we have seen, that the antecedent to *ὅσα* is *ἄλλο μὴδὲν (τούτων)*, and that this means "anything other" than 'fire' or 'water,' the previous examples. This makes it strictly true to say that the clause *ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθά τι* does not itself mean "phenomena" (my italics). But this is not to say that Plato does not intend the clause to be a reference to "phenomena." In fact, as we have also seen, Plato has previously made it clear that the 'elements' fire, water, air, and earth are constantly changing phenomena, and this in itself makes it implausible to read into what follows an injunction not to apply these terms (fire, water, etc.) to constantly changing phenomena, quite apart from what I consider to be the implausibility of ascribing to Plato here the subtlety of the distinction between phenomena and "X, where X is what we mean to designate when by using the deictic pronoun we say 'this is X'." There is, however, further and more decisive evidence in the rest of the passage to show that Cherniss' interpretation of the clause *ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθά τι* and of the sentence D4-E2 as a whole is incorrect. In the first place there is the fact that Plato repeats the phrase "by the use of the words 'this' or 'that'" (*τῷ ῥήματι τῷ τόδε καὶ τοῦτο προσχρόμενοι*) a little later on (50 A1-2)⁹ in a context which leaves no doubt of the significance which he is giving to the 'this' and 'that,' and it seems inconceivable to me that Plato should repeat the phrase so exactly within the space of a few lines, and yet give an entirely different significance in it to the "this" and "that." The phrase is repeated in the sentence immediately following the translated passage 49 D-E. Contrasting phenomena and the Receptacle itself, Plato says

* In 50 A1-2 there is *ὀνόματι* for the *ῥήματι* in 49 E1.

(49 E7-50 A2) that "that and that only in which all of them¹⁰ appear as they come to be in it and again vanish out of it should be designated by the use of the words 'this' or 'that'." Cherniss does not dispute that this means that we should "designate the receptacle alone when we employ the words 'this' or 'that'" (p. 124). And this certainly implies that we should not designate anything else by the words 'this' or 'that.' Cherniss, however, apparently considers that he has done enough to save his thesis here if he is able to show that what immediately follows (50 A2-4) is not an explicit statement of what has just been implied. Continuing his argument that the Receptacle alone should be designated by the use of the words 'this' or 'that,' Plato says: "but that which is of any quality—hot or cold or any of the opposites or anything composed of these—we should not call that any of these." This is ambiguous. It may mean that we should not apply to the Receptacle qualitative terms such as those here specified (so Cherniss, aptly comparing 51 A5-6). Alternatively it may mean that we should not apply to "what is of any quality" the terms just mentioned as applicable only to the the Receptacle—"this" and "that." Cherniss simply condemns this, unjustifiably, as "perverse" (p. 124). But to adopt the other interpretation does not save Cherniss' thesis, for it does not affect the implication of what immediately precedes. And once we compare the *τοῦτο καὶ τόδε* in 50 A1-2 with the *τόδε καὶ τοῦτο* within the same phrase in 49 E1, we have confirmation that in the sentence 49 D4-E2 it is the legitimacy of the application of these terms to *γινόμενα* which is in question, and this makes clear that the reference of the clause *ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθά τι* is the same as the reference of the clause *ἀεὶ ὁ καθορῶμεν ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ γινόμενον* at the beginning of the sentence. Thus Cherniss' argument that Plato's point in 49 D4-E2 "is not that you should not designate a phenomenon 'this' or 'that'" falls down. Moreover, the sentence which immediately follows (49 E2-4: *φεύγει . . . φάσις*) says explicitly that one cannot legitimately apply the

¹⁰ I. e. "transient phenomena." For similar language to describe the world of "becoming" (*ἐγγινόμενα δὲ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν φαντάζεται καὶ πάλιν ἐκείθεν ἀπόλλυται*) cf. 28A, 49 C7-D1, and *Theaetetus* 157 B. Cherniss takes *ἕκαστα αὐτῶν* to indicate "the perpetually identical characteristics which are severally distinct," and not "phases of the flux" (he takes *ἕκαστα* in the same way in 49 D1 and 49 E4). But to do so will not save his thesis here.

terms 'this' or 'that' to transient phenomena, and thus, apparently, explicitly refutes Cherniss' interpretation of the previous sentence. There can be no question that 49 E2-4 means what it says. For a passage with which it immediately invites comparison, see *Theaetetus* 157 B (οὐτε τόδε οὐτ' ἐκείνο οὐτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὄνομα ὅτι ἂν ἴσῃ). Nor can there be any question that what it says is very closely linked with the point made by the previous sentence. It is, in the first place, intended to be an explanation of that point (φείγεται γὰρ . . .). Further, its phraseology matches that at the end of the previous sentence—the μόνιμα ὡς ὄντα in E3 balances the ὡς τινα ἔχον βεβαιώτητα in D7, and the τόδε καὶ τοῦτο in E2-3 repeats the τόδε καὶ τοῦτο in the preceding line. It is, finally, a perfectly reasonable and consistent explanation of what precedes it, taking what precedes it as an injunction not to apply the terms "this" or "that" to "transient phenomena." To preserve his thesis, Cherniss must *either* (i) maintain that τόδε καὶ τοῦτο are used by Plato in the same way in E2-3 as they are, according to him, in E1—which the meaning of E2-4 makes impossible: *or* (ii) maintain that τόδε καὶ τοῦτο are not used in the same way in E2-3—which ascribes to Plato a quite incredible perversity. It is (ii) which he adopts. He does not consider, or even mention, the sudden switch in significance of τόδε καὶ τοῦτο which this entails. Indeed it seems that he does not consider that the fact that E2-4 is pointing out that it is wrong to apply "this" or "that" to "transient phenomena" raises any problems for his thesis, for the only indication of his acceptance of this fact is a remark in brackets in the course of note 5 and brief references to it at the end of note 6 (p. 118) and in note 8 (p. 119) when dealing with other parts of the passage. In note 5 (interpreting the clause ὅσα . . . ἡγούμεθα τι), after saying that "the point is not that you should not designate a phenomenon 'this' or 'that'," he adds, in brackets: "the fact that you cannot do so is in the next sentence given as the reason why you *should not* do what this sentence enjoins" (p. 118). Thus, accepting that E2-4 says that "this" and "that" are inapplicable to transient phenomena, he argues that it is thereby giving reasons for what he takes to be the injunction of the previous sentence—that terms such as "fire" and "water" should not be used to describe transient phenomena. In other words, if even "this" and "that" are inapplicable, then "fire" and "water" and so on

are inapplicable. Cherniss assumes, of course, that the subject of *φεύγει* in the sentence E2-4 is *τοῦτο* (the *τοῦτο* to be understood, together with *προσαγορεύειν*, in 49 D7) in the "innocent" sense he has given to it in his interpretation of the sentence D4-E2 (if D4-E2 is interpreted as an injunction not to apply "this" or "that" to *γινόμενα*, then *ἄλλο μηδέν* is to be taken as the subject of *φεύγει*). Thus the sentence E2-4 is now a statement that the "innocent" *τοῦτο* (the subject) cannot be called *τοῦτο* or *τόδε*. And the fact that you cannot apply *τόδε* or *τοῦτο* to *τοῦτο* explains, says Cherniss, why you should not predicate fire, water, and so on, of *τοῦτο*. This is awkward, and involves obvious difficulties—the difficulty of a remarkable juxtaposition of an "innocent" and a "guilty" *τοῦτο* in E2-3, and the difficulty of a sudden change in significance from the *τόδε καὶ τοῦτο* of E1 to the *τόδε καὶ τοῦτο* of E2-3. There are none of these difficulties once the sentence D4-E2 is interpreted as an injunction not to apply "this" or "that" to *γινόμενα* (which is, as we have seen, the seemingly obvious implication of the last part of the sentence); the sentence E2-4 is now a clear and straightforward explanation of what precedes it. Thus, having said that it is safest "not to call anything else 'this,' as though it had some permanence, among the things which we point to with the use of the words 'this' or 'that,' thinking we are indicating something" (D7-E2) Plato adds, as explanation, that "it (i.e. any other of the things, etc.) slips away, not waiting to be called 'this' or 'that' or any term which indicts them (*αὐτὰ*) of being stable." It is perhaps worth noting also that this allows a much more natural explanation of the transition from singular to plural in this sentence. There is no difficulty in assuming that, after beginning the sentence with the indefinite *ἄλλο μηδέν* as subject, Plato should refer to 'them' (*αὐτά*), where *αὐτά* refers back to (*τούτων*) *ὅσα . . .* in D7 of which *ἄλλο μηδέν* is the antecedent. Cherniss, however, cannot refer *αὐτά* back to *ὅσα . . .*, a clause which he assumes not to mean phenomena. He suggests therefore, unconvincingly in my opinion, that "apparently Plato, just because he has said that "it," the phenomenon, does not abide, immediately and without further explanation refers not to "it" as a single thing but to "them," the multiple and transient phases of the phenomenal flux that cannot be identified as distinct objects" (pp. 118-19).

My conclusion is that the sentence D4-E2 is contrasting τοῦτο and τὸ τοιοῦτον as terms, incorrect and correct respectively, to apply to γιγνόμενα, and is using them predicatively. The sentence E2-4 presents no difficulty once D4-E2 is interpreted in this way, and is itself strong confirmation that this interpretation of D4-E2 is correct. In the next sentence (E4-7) there are ambiguities and difficulties, all of which Cherniss clearly brings out,¹¹ but what precedes and what follows this sentence make clear that there is no warrant for trying to import into its meaning a distinction between "this" and "such" as references to different objects. It seems clear to me¹² that Plato is here reiterating what he said in the previous two sentences, before passing on to the point that to the Receptacle alone are the terms "this" or "that" applicable (49 E7 ff.). There is one final point to be made. If Plato was trying to make a distinction in 49 D-50 B, not only between the Receptacle and the sensible characteristics or qualities which "come to be and pass away" in it, but also between "distinct and self-identical (sensible) characteristics" and "phases of the flux," would not this additional distinction find some clear reflection in the *Timaeus* outside this one difficult passage? In both his discussions of the passage, Cherniss appeals to only one other passage to support this distinction. He says that "the distinct and self-identical characteristics," the "images" of the Forms, "are not the same as the transient phenomena, for the latter are the *apparent* alterations of the receptacle induced by their continual entrance into it and exit from it (50 C3-4)."¹³ But 50 C3-4 neither says nor implies that "transient phenomena" are apparent alterations of the Receptacle induced by the entrance and exit of copies of Forms. Plato has just stressed that the Receptacle is "always the same" and never itself possesses any of the characters which "come to be and pass away" within it; it is subsequently described as "a nature invisible and characterless" (51 A). And in 50 C3-4 he says that the diversities brought "by the things that enter into it," i. e. the sensible characteristics which are "images" of Forms, make the Receptacle itself *appear* to have different qualities at

¹¹ Pp. 119-24. See also Taylor, *Commentary*, pp. 318-19.

¹² See my translation.

¹³ *A. J. P.*, LXXV, p. 129, and LXXXVIII, p. 246. "Their" refers to the "images" of the Forms. The italics are Cherniss'.

different times (though *in fact*, as he has just said, it has not). In other words, if anyone ascribes to the Receptacle itself the diversity and change which belong to the sensible qualities continually "coming into it and going out of it," he is wrong. Thus the force of "appears" in saying that the Receptacle *appears* to be so-and-so is not in any way to imply a distinction between "phenomena" and "self-identical characteristics," but to imply the falsity of any inference from the diversity and change of sensible qualities to the diversity and change of the Receptacle itself. The only sensibles which figure in this passage, or in any other part of Plato's discussion, are, quite obviously, the "images" of the Forms. Indeed, Plato makes perfectly explicit, both at the beginning and at the end of his discussion of the Receptacle in 48 E-52 D, that throughout the discussion he is dealing with three factors, and three only—(i) the Forms, the eternally unchanging model; (ii) "that which becomes," a copy (*μίμημα*) of this model, sensible and perpetually in motion; (iii) space, the Receptacle of "all that becomes" (48 E-49 A, 50 C7-D2, 52 A-D1). The distinction within (ii) which Cherniss tries to find in 49 D-50 B is neither mentioned nor implied here; there is no room for it.

If my interpretation of 49 D-E is substantially correct, it follows, as Cherniss would agree (*A.J.P.*, LXXVIII, p. 245), that the *Timaeus* is here at variance with *Cratylus* 439 D8-9 and *Theaetetus* 182 C9-D7. And it is important that this discrepancy should be recognised, for it is, as I noted earlier, one of the important indications in the late dialogues of a development towards greater consistency in Plato's theory of knowledge. Cherniss, in his attempt to remove the discrepancy, shows himself once more as a vigorous and scholarly champion of the tradition in American Platonic scholarship of the unity of Plato's thought. It is a tradition which has contributed much to the understanding of Plato. But to push it to the point of assuming that no inconsistencies are to be found within Plato's work is, I think, to push it too far.

NORMAN GULLEY.

UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL.

EARLY ROMAN URBANITY.*

Many scholars, among them J. Marouzeau,¹ seem to be of the opinion that the Roman concept of *urbanitas* did not reveal itself until the time of Cicero, or about the middle of the first century B. C. It does not seem likely, however, that such a feeling would suddenly spring into being in the last century of the Republic.² Rather, we should expect it to manifest itself earlier.

Before searching for its earlier traces, we must have some idea of what we are seeking. Cicero, who gives us the clearest picture of the developed *urbanitas*, shows that it involves three basic interrelated ideas. In the first place, it is a general urban refinement. In a letter to Trebatius Cicero advises him to lay aside his *desideria urbis et urbanitatis*,³ and a few months later chides him for showing in his correspondence that he is *levis in urbis et urbanitatis desiderio*.⁴ In these two instances there is a contrast between the city in the physical sense (*urbis*) and the ways or, more specifically, the refinements (*urbanitatis*) of the city.⁵

Secondly, basic to this concept was a careful, refined wit. The *sal et urbanitas* of the *De Oratore* (II, 231) surely implies a contrast between humor in general (*sal*) and citified or cultured

* This paper was presented in a slightly different form at the University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference in Lexington on April 24, 1959.

¹ "Notes sur la fixation du Latin classique," *Memoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, XVII (1911-12), p. 269. He states here that it is only in the first century B. C. that the opposition between country and city in ways and language seems to begin.

² F. Egermann, in his review of Karl Lammermann: *Von der attischen Urbanität und ihrer Auswirkung in der Sprache*, *Gnomon*, XIII (1937), p. 644, voices this objection also, although he does not attempt to remedy the situation.

³ *Ad Fam.*, VII, 6, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17, 1.

⁵ *Urbanitas* is used in other Ciceronian contexts to refer to politeness (*Ad Fam.*, III, 9, 1) and culture (*Brut.*, 177, *De Or.*, I, 17). In the *Pro Rosc. Amer.* (120 f.) first *litterae* and *urbanitas* and then *litterae* and *humanitas* appear together. It would seem that here Cicero considers *urbanitas* and *humanitas* as almost synonymous.

wit (*urbanitas*). From the *De Officiis* (I, 29, 104) we learn that in Cicero's eyes there are two kinds of humor, a low type which he describes as *inliberale*, *petulans*, *flagitiosum*, *obscenum* and its antithesis which is *elegans*, *urbanum*, *ingeniosum*, and *facetum*. There can be little doubt that Cicero's second type is the refined wit of the urbanite.

Finally, *urbanitas* is a certain quality found only in the city people's way of speaking. Although this speech characteristic even for Cicero is all but impossible to define, it would seem to involve a certain tone of voice and a careful urban pronunciation.⁶

Along with this developed concept, involving manners, wit, and language, we should expect to find a certain contempt on the part of those who have it for those who lack it. Cicero does not disappoint us. For in the *De Oratore* Crassus mentions Antonius' contemptuous allegation that an orator, like a rower or a day laborer, is *inopem . . . humanitatis et inurbanum*.⁷ Elsewhere he laments that a certain *peregrinitas* is making itself felt in the city.⁸ In a letter to Atticus (II, 15, 3), when he asserts that he would rather talk with rustics than with the overly sophisticated (*perurbani*) Arrius and Sebosus, he is in essence saying of the rustic that, while he is superior to the city dweller who has carried sophistication to extremes, he nevertheless is inferior to the true gentleman.

This city-country contrast was felt long before Cicero's time. Plautus from time to time in his plays depicts the opposition between urban and rustic ways. In the *Trinummus* (199-202) we find a criticism on the part of the country dweller Megaronides of the *urbani assidui cives, quos scurras vocant*. Again in the *Mostellaria* (15 f.) Grumio accosts Tranio with the words:

Tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli,
rus mihi tu obiectas?

In both of these instances, of course, we have a Greek context. But, inasmuch as *urbs* and *urbanus* at an early date came to be

⁶ Cicero himself admits (*Brut.*, 170 ff.) that he is unable to define this quality with any precision. For a full discussion of this and related passages see my unpublished dissertation "Urbanitas, Rusticitas, Peregrinitas: The Roman View of Proper Latin" (University of Cincinnati, 1957), pp. 44-51.

⁷ *De Or.*, II, 40.

⁸ *Ad Fam.*, IX, 15, 2.

synonymous with *Roma*, and *scurra* had a peculiarly Roman connotation,⁹ these words in the minds of the audience and, I am sure, in the mind of Plautus as well, would be applied, if not consciously, then unconsciously to Rome as well as to Athens. Again, in the *Persa* (169), *rustica* seems to have the same connotations as *barda*: dullness and stupidity. Thus here it is implied that *rusticus* is to dullness and stupidity what *urbanus* would be to cleverness and learning.

In other words, the city-country contrast with Rome as the city is in evidence in these early plays. And this is not surprising. For by Plautus' time the city, whether it be Athens or Rome, was the cultural center distinguished from the country with its simple way of life.

This opposition is discussed at greater length by the old man Dinia and the youth Nicodemus in the *Vidularia* (31-5). Here we have the softness and leisure of the city (*mollitia et umbra*) opposed to the toilsome life of the rustics.

Again, in Terence's *Adelphoe* (42-6), this antithetical relationship is brought out. City life is described here as peaceful and easy-going (*clemens*), while the man in the country has to live a life of thrift (*parce*) and toil (*duriter*). Later in the play (860 f.), Demea, after deciding in a soliloquy to give up his country life, says:

...re ipsa repperi
facilitate nihil esse homini melius neque clementia.

That is, the life of the city is characterized by affability (*facilitate*) and ease (*clementia*),¹⁰ and the urbanite lives his life (863 f.)

...in otio, in conviviis
clemens, placidus, nulli laedere os, adridere omnibus: . . .

Demea describes himself, on the other hand, as *agrestis saevos*

⁹ *Scurra* is found a number of times elsewhere in Plautus' plays and is used also by Cicero and Horace. Phaedrus' fable on the *scurra* and rustic (V, 5) is well known.

¹⁰ S. G. Ashmore, *The Adelphoe of Terence* (London, 1896), n. ad loc., translates *clementia* as "moderation." In his later *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae: The Comedies of Terence* (New York, 1910), n. ad loc., he translates it "forbearance." The Thesaurus equates it with *lenitas* and *temperantia*.

tristis parcus truculentus tenax (866).¹¹ There is a certain irony in each of these statements of Demea, but the importance of the city-country opposition cannot be denied. Once again, as was the case with Plautus' views, all of this is in a Greek setting. But I think it is safe to say here, as before, that the playwright was thinking as much of contemporary conditions in and around Rome as he was of Athens, and that it would be a Roman picture as much as a Greek one that the audience would get from these lines.

Do the attitudes, then, that go along with such an opposition reveal themselves in the early Latin literature? The answer to this question, as I hope to show, must be in the affirmative.

We may see from the passages of the *Trinummus* and *Mostellaria* cited above that the rustic resented the city-dweller. But this dislike does not appear often in extant Latin literature because there is no writer who looks at life from the point of view of the country man, except to describe procedure in a technical treatise or to idealize country life in poetry.

It is, however, the counterpart of this rustic attitude for which we are searching, the urban feeling of superiority and exclusiveness which later went under the name of *urbanitas* and which would logically arise from such a contrast as that outlined above.

We may infer, I believe, from a fragment of Naevius' *Ariolus* that this feeling of urbanity had taken hold at Rome as early as the middle of the third century B. C. Here two characters are discussing the eating habits of the Praenestines and Lanuvians:¹²

(A) Quis heri
apud te? (B) Praenestini et Lanuvini hospites.
(A) Suopte utrosque decuit acceptos cibo,
alteris inanem volvulam madidam dari,
alteris nuces in proclivi profundier.

These habits under criticism are no doubt rustic, for sow's belly and nuts sound like simple country fare. The critic is saying that it is a pity to waste good urban cooking on these unfortunate rustics who are accustomed to simple, rather uncouth food.

¹¹ This line is an almost literal translation of a line of Menander's *Ἀδελφοί* (fr. 11, ed. Koerte [II, p. 19]).

¹² O. Ribbeck, *C. R. F.*, II, pp. 9 f.

This attitude towards what is non-urban appears also a number of times in Plautus' plays. In the *Trinummus* (608 f.) Callicles, in a heated discussion with the slave Stasimus, asks him when a certain betrothal took place. Stasimus replies: "Right here in front of the house; *tammodo*, as the man from Praeneste puts it" (*tammodo inquit Praenestinus*). There can be little doubt that the dramatist is pointing to *tammodo* as peculiar to the Praenestine dialect. C. E. Freeman and E. Sloman in their edition of the *Trinummus* call it a provincialism.¹³ Festus says (p. 543, ed. Lindsay) that the ancients (*antiqui*) used *tammodo* for *modo*. I take this statement to mean that *tammodo* was an early combination that gradually disappeared and was replaced by *modo*. If this is the case, then Plautus in the line under discussion must be criticizing the Praenestines for continuing to use the archaic form which had been superseded by *modo* in Roman Latin. We have here an indication, I believe, that the Roman thought his dialect superior to that of at least one neighboring town in this early period.

The Praenestine dialect is the butt of Plautus' criticism once again, this time in the *Truculentus* (687-91). Here Truculentus, defending his use of *rabo* for *arrabo*, compares it with the Praenestine use of *conia* for *ciconia*.¹⁴ Plautus appears to be poking fun at the Praenestines for using a variant of the word *ciconia*. Theodor Bergk believes that these people were prone to leaving out vowels when speaking.¹⁵ He suggests that the word *ciconia* was pronounced *c'conia* by them, being written *conia* since it was virtually impossible to hear the double consonant at the beginning of the word. He goes on to call this shortened pronunciation rustic. If he is right, then I suggest that once again

¹³ T. Macci Plauti *Trinummus* (Oxford, 1885), n. ad loc.

¹⁴ Leo's text. Probus (*G. L. K.*, IV, p. 263) reads *conea* and *ciconia*, while the MSS read *conea* and *ciconia*.

¹⁵ Th. Bergk, *Kleine philologische Schriften*, ed. R. Peppmüller (Halle, 1884), I, pp. 187 f. Cf. F. Ritschl, "Vokalunterdrückung in der Schrift: Pränestinisches Latein," *Rh. Mus.*, XVI (1861), pp. 601-14. Ritschl points to numerous Praenestine inscriptions in which vowels are omitted, but does not attempt to relate the shortened forms like *conia* or *rabo* to the omission of vowels in the inscriptions. Possibly these two phenomena, the one from Praenestine speech, the other from Praenestine writing, together indicate considerable vowel syncopation in Praenestine Latin.

in the *Truculentus* we have evidence for an early *urbanitas*. For in this case Plautus is criticizing a pronunciation which appeared rustic and incorrect to a Roman.

Another strong indication of an early *urbanitas* is to be found in the elder Cato's definition of an *urbanus homo*. This has been preserved by Quintilian who quotes it from a work of Domitius Marsus:¹⁶ *Urbanus homo erit, cuius multa bene dicta responsaque erunt, et qui in sermonibus, circulis, conviviiis, item in contionibus, omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet. Risus erunt, quicunque haec faciet orator.*

In discussing the wit of the city gentleman, Cato emphasizes good expression and clever reply (*bene dicta responsaque*), and insists that humor be suited to the occasion which it is to serve. Here it would seem that we have the first hint of an extension in the meaning of *urbanus*. Before this time it had been used with topographical connotations only, but here the word seems to be working towards one of its Ciceronian meanings, "refinedly humorous."

It may be seen at a glance how important this definition is in the development of the Roman *urbanitas*, for it shows that by the middle of the second century B. C. the Roman consciousness of this phenomenon had reached the point where some attempt was being made to define it in at least one of its various aspects.

Lucilius, too, in his *Satires* at times reveals a certain contempt for what is not of the city. Whether his jab at the Lydians and their dress¹⁷ or his heavy criticism of the Samnite gladiator Aeserninus¹⁸ derives from this, it is hard to say. However, there is one fragment in which this feeling is clearly present. Varro in his *De Lingua Latina* (VII, 96) quotes part of a line of

¹⁶ *Inst. Or.*, VI, 3, 105. G. L. Hendrickson, "Horace and Valerius Cato," *C. P.*, XII (1917), pp. 90 ff., asserts that this is Valerius Cato, although he admits that even Quintilian thought it to be Cato the Censor. Until a more cogent argument is put forward for identifying him with the later Cato, I think we are on safer ground in assuming this Cato to be the Censor. Such a statement as this could easily find a place in his *Carmen de Moribus* mentioned by Aulus Gellius (*N. A.*, XI, 2, 2) or in his *Ἀποφθέγματα* in which, says Cicero (*De Of.*, I, 29, 104), are collected *multa multorum facete dicta*.

¹⁷ F. Marx, *C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1904), I, p. 4, line 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 12, lines 149-52.

Lucilius: *Cecilius ne rusticus fiat*. In Diomedes' fourth century work on Latin grammar there appears a line from Lucilius closely resembling the one above: *pretor ne rusticus fiat*.¹⁹ There can be little doubt that Marx is correct in assuming that the same line is referred to in both cases and that it should read *Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat*.²⁰ As Marx says in a note on this line,²¹ Lucilius is criticizing pronunciation. He is pointing to the fact that he regarded the flat pronunciation of *ae*, that is, long *e* as rustic. It is perhaps significant in this connection that the Caecilii were linked with Praeneste by at least one tradition,²² and that a certain Vettius was criticized elsewhere by Lucilius for using the dialects of the Praenestines, Etruscans, and Sabines.²³ Therefore, I think we may say that at least until Lucilius' time the Praenestines and possibly the other people nearby were speaking a Latin that was already considered by the urbanites to be rustic and so worthy of criticism.²⁴

From the foregoing I think we must conclude that there was early in Rome a certain feeling of exclusiveness. That this was essentially the same as the phenomenon to which Cicero gives the name *urbanitas* is, I believe, clear from the fact that it appears in the same three areas: language, humor, and general deportment.

Perhaps the instances above are not numerous enough to reveal

¹⁹ *G. L. K.*, I, p. 452.

²⁰ Marx, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76, line 1130.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 358 f.

²² Festus, p. 31, ed. Lindsay.

²³ Quint., *op. cit.*, I, 5, 56; Marx, *op. cit.*, I, p. 91, lines 1322 ff.

²⁴ From Book XXII is preserved a fragment which may or may not constitute a show of *urbanitas*. The line in question reads: *primum Pacilius tesorophylax pater abzet* (Marx, *op. cit.*, I, p. 40, line 581). The last word, according to E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Cambridge, 1938), III, p. 197, note *a*, and Marx (see above, n. 17), II, pp. 216 f., is either Oscan or Paelignian. Why was it brought in by Lucilius? If Pacilius was Oscan for Paakul (Warmington, Marx, *loc. cit.*), then we may have here a subtle attempt by Lucilius to point to a peculiarity of his speech; that is, a propensity to mix native words into the Latin he speaks. However, the whole tone of this line, as Marx points out, is one of respect. Therefore, although the use of the word may indicate a consciousness on the part of Lucilius that Pacilius' speech was not good Roman speech, there probably is no heavy criticism implied.

any development in this concept in the early period. But, as I have already suggested, Cato's attempt at a definition of the *urbanus homo* may be an indication that Roman consciousness of this *urbanitas* had progressed to where definition was necessary. A broader view, however, is probably required as far as its early development is concerned. For I believe that this urbanity had its origins at a time much earlier than the beginnings of literary endeavor at Rome, and that it rose gradually as Rome became more and more the center of the Mediterranean world. Such a process would account for the positive tone of the earliest literary manifestation of this feeling in the *Ariolus*.

If this hypothesis is correct, we need not look to any foreign influence for the origin of this *urbanitas*. It is true that there was a parallel feeling at Athens, as perhaps the funeral speech of Pericles best shows.²⁵ It is also true that *urbanus* for the most part parallels *ἀστικός* in its various meanings. Once again, however, I think it enough to say that the feeling is a natural one and would logically have grown from early times as Rome gradually rose above her neighbors. The examples above all have a peculiarly Roman flavor, and in no case do they appear to be mere reflections of a Greek feeling.

EDWIN S. RAMAGE.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

²⁵ Thuc., *Hist.*, II, 35-46.

NEC MORTI ESSE LOCUM.

I was much interested in Professor George E. Duckworth's article on "Vergil's *Georgics* and the *Laudes Galli*" (*A.J.P.*, LXXX [1959], pp. 225-37), and was especially impressed by his fresh, and to my mind cogent, arguments (pp. 235-6) in support of the view, reached independently and almost simultaneously by Anderson¹ and Norden,² that the Aristaeus episode is the original conclusion of *Georgics* IV—a view that I have long shared.³ But I should like to raise a question about one minor point in the article, the comment (p. 228) that Vergil stated "that *even for bees* [*italics mine*] 'there is no place for death' (IV, 226: *nec morti esse locum*)."

I think that *nec morti esse locum* has much wider application than just to the bees. It is true that the whole passage (219-27) might be paraphrased or summarized as follows: "Because of this behavior (their self-sacrificing loyalty to their monarch) the bees have been thought to share in the divine spirit that permeates the universe, from which men and beasts (223: *hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum*) have their being; hence we may conclude (225: *scilicet*) that they (the bees as well as men and beasts) return ultimately to this realm of spirit, and do not die." However, I do not think this is truly the march of the thought. I believe that after *dixere* in 221 Vergil has ceased momentarily to stress what happens specifically to the bees; his thought runs rather as follows: "Because of this behavior bees have been thought to share in the divine spirit that permeates the universe; from this all living creatures have their being, and it is evident (*scilicet*) that they (all living creatures⁴) all ultimately return to it, and do not die." Indeed, that immortality is being posited not specifically for the bees but generically for all living creatures seems to be indicated by the use of the neuter plurals in 225-7:

¹ W. B. Anderson, "Gallus and the Fourth *Georgic*," *C.Q.*, XXVII (1933), pp. 36-45 and 73.

² E. Norden, "Orpheus und Eurydice. Ein nachträgliches Gedenkblatt für Vergil," *Berl. Sitzb., phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXII (1934), pp. 627-31.

³ Cf. *C. W.*, XXX (1937), p. 258.

⁴ Of course these creatures include bees; but that in my opinion is not significant or even relevant.

scilicet huc reddi deinde ac *resoluta* referri
omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed *viva* volare
sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.

I cannot believe that line 223 is meant to specify various types of life excluding, and contrasting with, the bees; it rather stands, I think, for all life, just as does the more detailed list in the parallel passage *Aen.*, VI, 728-9:

inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.

Poetry not being science, both lists are suggestive rather than exhaustive; the fact that in *Aen.* VI birds⁵ and fishes are *included* as well as men and beasts does not mean that bees are *excluded* in either case. Both passages are simply expansions of Lucretius' *genus omne animantum* (I, 4).⁶

⁵ The reader naturally takes *volantum* of birds; I think no one would suggest that it includes insects as well.

⁶ Lucretius then proceeds under this general head to enumerate different classes: *aeriae primum volucres* (12), *inde ferae pecudes* (14), finally as a general summary *denique . . . omnibus* (17, 19). Vergil's *pecudes* and *genus omne ferarum* seem to echo Lucretius' *ferae pecudes* (and, incidentally, to indicate that to Vergil *ferae* is a noun coordinated asyndetically with *pecudes* and not an adjective modifying it); but Lucretius' mention of birds (12 *volucres*, 18 *avium*) does not find a parallel in Vergil until VI, 728 (cf. note 5). Lucretius too has longer lists elsewhere; cf. e.g. two passages where, as in *Aen.*, VI, 729, fish are included: II, 343-5:

praeterea genus humanum mutaeque natantes
squamigerum pecudes et laeta armenta feraeque
et variae volucres,

and 1081-3:

invenies sic montivagum genus esse ferarum,
sic hominum genitam prolem, sic denique mutas
squamigerum pecudes et corpora cuncta volantum.

In these passages also, the listing of a few individual species as examples doubtless represents the entire sum of living creatures, though Lucretius does not here summarize the latter as he does in his more elaborately constructed prooemion by the all-inclusive *genus omne* (I, 4) at the beginning and *omnibus* (19) at the end. (It may be worth while to note in passing that this presentation of a generalization, followed by specific instances, and finally by a return to the generalization, is a device of particular frequency in Horace. As examples we may cite *Carm.*, I, 3, 25-37; 28, 15-20; II, 13, 13-20; *Serm.*, I, 1, 1-119; 3, 41-54 and 55-67;

Professor Duckworth reverts to his idea about *nec morti esse locum* a little later (p. 232): "IV has two conclusions: immortality for the bees (219-27) and the happy ending for Aristaeus of the regeneration of the bees (548-58)." I question whether 219-27 can really be thought of as a "conclusion"; further details, and fairly trivial ones, about bee-keeping follow it (228-50, the method of removing honey from the hive, and 251-80, symptoms and treatment of disease among the bees, which of course leads up excellently to the Aristaeus narrative). But if the earlier passage is to be viewed as a "conclusion," my interpretation of it as referring primarily to immortality not just for bees but for all living creatures cannot weaken in any way the general theses that Professor Duckworth maintains so admirably.

E. ADELAIDE HAHN.

HUNTER COLLEGE.

SAPPHO, 98 a 7.

Professor George Melville Bolling, in his "Restoration of Sappho, 98 a 1-7," *A. J. P.*, LXXX (1959), pp. 276-87, takes τὰς κόμας δάιδος (line 7) as a genitive of comparison with ξανθορέπαις 'more yellow than the κόμα of a torch' (p. 284). He quite rightly refuses to be discouraged by the fact that "*hair of a torch* is nonsense in English" (*ibid.*). But he might well be encouraged by the fact that it is by no means "nonsense" in Latin, as we have testimony from the Roman poet who furnishes us the best evidence to be had in Latin as to Sappho's Greek, namely, Catullus. He speaks of the *hair of a torch* in 61, the first of his two wedding-hymns, poems in which we may expect Sappho's influence to be particularly strong.¹ The phrase occurs

4, 22-33 and 105-21. I discussed this in some detail in *C. W.*, XXXIX [1946], pp. 92-3.)

¹ It is true that 61, unlike 62, is distinctly Roman in its setting and atmosphere; but none the less it has Greek features. Cf. Robinson Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford, 1889), p. 200: "The refrain *O Hymen Hymenaeae* and the exordium (1-30) are . . . Greek, and if we had Sappho's Epithalamia entire we should probably find that Catullus drew from these many of the ideas which give such a charm to his work; the metre too is Greek." Of course I am not suggesting that 98 is an

twice: *viden ut faces/ splendoras quatiunt comas?* (78-9)² and *vide ut faces/ aureas quatiunt comas* (98-9).

It is true that Catullus uses the plural *comas*. For the singular, we have to wait till Seneca, *Oed.*, 309-11: *utrumne clarus ignis et nitidus stetit/ rectusque purum verticem caelo tulit/ et summam in auras fusus explicuit comam?*—a reasonably close parallel, referring not to a torch but to the flame on the altar.³ However, the Roman poets in talking about hair do not distinguish precisely between the singular and plural. Strictly speaking, of course, *coma* (like Greek *πλόκαμος* and French *cheveu*) is a single hair, as in Catullus' poem (66) known as the *Coma Berenices*, in imitation of Callimachus' *Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος*; note 93: *utinam coma regia fiam*,⁴ and, of the bereft sister-locks, 51: *abiunctae paulo ante comae . . . sorores*. But elsewhere the singular *coma* (like English *hair*) is used as a collective,⁵ and in sense, as I have said, seems synonymous with the plural *comae*. Thus Vergil in speaking of Venus' hair in two contiguous passages uses first the singular, *Aen.*, I, 319: *dederatque comam diffundere ventis*, and then the plural, 403-4: *comae divinum vertice odorem/ spiravere*. Cf. too Horace, *Carm.*, I, 5, 4: *religas comam* with II, 11, 24: *comas religata*; and *Carm.*, III, 30, 16: *lauro cinge . . . comam* with *Epist.*, II, 1, 110: *fronde comas vincti*.

If it was not unnatural for the Greek (and Roman) poets to speak of 'the hair of a torch,'⁶ Sappho's comparison of a

Epithalamion; Catullus in his Epithalamia need not have confined his borrowings from Sappho to poems of this special genre.

² Ellis, *ad loc.* (p. 222), offers several Greek parallels: Aeschylus, *Ag.*, 306: *φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα*, and *Prom.*, 1044: *πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος*; Euripides, fr. 833 (Nauck): *πώγωνα πυρός*.

³ We seem to find a fairly similar use of *comam* in regard to the blazing garment of Nessus, *Herc. Oet.*, 727: *abiectus horret villus et perdit comam*. But here the difficulty of the reading of adjacent lines renders the sense not quite certain.

⁴ Cf. 8, *e Bereniceo vertice caesariem*. But see also note 5.

⁵ So, too, *caesaries*, which, indeed, lacks a plural. Note e.g. Vergil, *Georg.*, IV, 337: *caesariem effusae nitidam per candida colla*; Horace, *Carm.*, I, 15, 14: *pectes caesariem*.

⁶ Or at least of fire or lightning, as in the passages from the Greek tragic poets quoted in note 2, and in the one from Seneca quoted in the second paragraph.

maiden's τρίχες with the κόμα δάιδος becomes all the lovelier. In order to satisfy our sense of English idiom, we may feel we have to translate, as Professor Bolling does (p. 286), 'the top of a torch'; yet I think in Sappho and in Catullus 61 I should rather talk about 'the tresses of a torch.'

E. ADELAIDE HAHN.

HUNTER COLLEGE.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ἀμφιμάχεσθαι.

Manu Leumann has in his *Homerische Wörter*, pp. 92-5, a most interesting section headed: *Postposition wird Praeverb*. I am suggesting the addition of another example.

Hector's slaying of Patroclus—the fateful climax of his life—is told with a simile, Π 822-8, that tells of a lion slaying a boar when μάχεσθον/πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης· ἐθέλουσι δὲ πιέμεν ἄμφω. In addition to the postposition of ἀμφί, I would note that the axis, πίδακος, of the prepositional phrase names the bone of contention, the prize that goes to the winner of the fight.

Next to this I would place: 'as long as the Achaeans and the Trojans' τείχεος ἀμφ' ἐμάχοντο O 391; the dying Sarpedon's call to Glaucus to rouse the Lycian leaders to fight for his corpse Σαρπηδόνος ἀμφὶ μάχεσθαι Π 496; Glaucus' compliance with this wish (same phrase is used) Π 533; Antilochus' report to Achilles of the disaster κείται Πάτροκλος, νέκυνος δὲ δὴ ἀμφὶ μάχονται Σ 20.

When μάχεσθαι stands in an environment in which ἀμφὶ with an accusative is used, the meaning is of course different. The axis then, if there is talk about topography, names a city (chiefly) near which fighting was going on. This prepositional phrase is also used when the talk is of some activity other than fighting. In all these situations ἀμφί may precede or follow the noun it governs.

Examples with verbs other than μάχεσθαι are: ἀμφί τε ἄστυ/ἔρδομεν ἱρὰ θεοῖσι Λ 706, ὅσα δὴ πάθομεν κακὰ Ἴλιον ἀμφί Φ 442, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην πόλιν ἀμφὶ δύνω στρατοὶ ἦτο Σ [509]. I could have quoted also I 573, X 381.

The examples with μάχεσθαι in the environment are: μάχοντο . . . / ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα I 530, ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφὶ μάχοντο Z 461, Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφὶ μάχωμαι I 412, στρατὸν ἀμφὶ μάχονται Π 73, τὴν

δῆλοι ἀμφὶ μάχωνται Σ 208. In all except the first ἀμφί stands before a form of μάχεσθαι and in postpositive position.

With a dative ἀμφί is used more than 70 times, and in not one of these examples is it a postposition. That must seem odd when compared with the far fewer examples of the other cases cited above. Unexpected things do occur, and for another I may refer to Wackernagel's discussion (*Syntax*, II, pp. 163 f.) of Latin *tenus*. This preposition is construed with either the genitive or the ablative. But, until we get to Ovid and Livy, the genitives are always plural, the ablatives always singular.

Among the uses of ἀμφί with the dative I shall mention only that in which its axis names the bone of contention. With μάχομαι as the verb of the environment: ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι Γ 70, 91, μαχήσονται ἀμφὶ γυναικί Γ 254, ἀμφὶ νέκνι κατατεθνηῶτι μάχομαι Π 526, cf. Π 565, εἰς ὃ κεν ἀμφὶ πύλῃσ' εὖ ποιητῇσι μάχωνται Ε 466, ἀμφ' ἄλλῃσι μάχην ἐμάχοντο νέεσσιν Ο 414, cf. Μ [175], θηρὶ μαχήσασθαι ἔλικος βοὸς ἀμφὶ φονῆσιν Ο 633. None of these could, of course, lead on to ἀμφιμάχεσθαι.

Here we are shown ἀμφί with dative and ἀμφί with genitive in competition. The dative prevailed. We must so judge not merely from the number of passages involved, but from the fact that ἀμφί + dative spreads to passages that contained not μάχομαι but some other expression suggestive of contention. Over a score of examples—some more or less debatable—could be adduced; but quotation of two seems sufficient. 'Αμφ' οὐροισι δὺ' ἀνέρε δηριάασθον Μ 421; the Trojan elders say οὐ νέμεσις that Trojans and Achaeans τοιῷδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν Γ 157.

The mere juxtaposition of these passages suffices, in my opinion, to show the development of ἀμφιμάχεσθαι provided that the correctness of my analysis—indicated by word-division—be granted for the earliest period, ca. 550 B. C., of our written tradition. Our texts divide (and hence analyze) differently, treating ἀμφιμάχεσθαι as one word. This is based on the practice of the minuscule manuscripts. Granting that they are reflecting Alexandrian views, we are taken back to the 2d century B. C. Our texts are content to show the Homeric poems in the form they had reached by that time. In the earlier period there could be nothing but a *scriptio continua*, one that tells nothing about word-division (except at the verse end), nor about stress, nor about pitch. This imposes upon us the duty to try to determine.

in spite of this handicap, the form reached by the poems when our written tradition began. My analysis is an attempt to fulfill that duty.

I must add that one of the passages τὴν δῆλοι ἀμφὶ μάχωνται Σ 208 is on the borderline because of the interruption of the phrase τὴν ἀμφί by a 'heavy' word, not by particles as in νέκνος δὲ δὴ ἀμφί Σ 20.

Ἀμφιμάχεσθαι is not found in the *Odyssey*; and from later times *LSJ* cites only one inscription of the 3d century B. C.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THUCYDIDES.

Thuc., IV, 9, 2: ". . . ἐχώρει ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐς χωρία μὲν χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα, σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγείτο προθυμήσεσθαι. . . ."

The Oxford text notes that in the manuscript tradition προθυμήσεσθαι is read as κρατηθήσεσθαι in ABEFM, and it prints Van Leeuwen's conjecture ἐσβιάσασθαι in place of the universal manuscript reading ἐπισπάσασθαι. There is general agreement that the reading προθυμήσεσθαι is correct, although the scholiast describes it as superfluous: περιττὸν δὲ τὸ προθυμήσεσθαι. Arnold Gomme inclined toward this view of the scholiast,¹ when he questioned the Oxford text and suggested: "Perhaps the older suggestion to read ἐπισπάσεσθαι, with passive meaning, and to bracket προθυμήσεσθαι, is preferable." Reiske and Poppo had favored the future, to be taken as passive in meaning, but had hesitated to bracket προθυμήσεσθαι.²

It is not my purpose to follow through successive editions the varying comments on and interpretations of this passage. My suggestion is that the manuscript reading ἐπισπάσασθαι (aorist middle) is correct, and that it must be understood in the light

¹ A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, III, p. 445.

² Ernst F. Poppo, *Thucydidis de bello Peloponnesiaco libri octo* (Leipzig, 1827), Part III, Vol. III, p. 34.

of another passage, where the same verb is used, in Thuc., III, 89, 5:

αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιοῦτου, ἧ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμός
ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐξαπίνης
πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαίωτερον τὴν ἐπὶ κλύσιν ποιεῖν· ἄνευ δὲ σεισμοῦ
οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτο ξυμβῆναι γενέσθαι.

This passage too has suffered at the hands of editors. Meineke wished to emend ἐπισπωμένην to read ἐπισπωμένης.³ The Oxford text keeps the manuscript reading. But opinions have differed about the subject of the infinitives ἀποστέλλειν and ποιεῖν. Classen thought τὸν σεισμόν to have been the subject of both verbs;⁴ Gomme took τὴν θάλασσαν as subject of both.⁵ I prefer to quote (with complete approval) the sensible judgment of Herbert Fox, in his school edition of 1901: "The subject of ἀποστέλλειν is τὸν σεισμόν which has been drawn into the relative clause. With ποιεῖν the subject changes to θάλασσαν. There is no reason to conjecture ἐπισπωμένης, or to adopt ἐπισπώμενον from the scholiast."

Thucydides has been reporting the earthquake and tidal wave at Orobiai in Euboea, the similar phenomenon at Atalante, and the earthquake (without inundating tidal wave) at Peparethos. His geophysical commentary on these incidents may be translated as follows:

"I think the cause of such a phenomenon to be that where the earthquake is most severe there it pushes back the sea, and then suddenly surging back it (i. e., the sea) makes its inundation with greater violence; and without an earthquake it does not seem to me that such a phenomenon could possibly take place."

Here the participle ἐπισπωμένην has its fundamental meaning of "drawing itself toward." The Liddell and Scott *Lexicon* treats the participle as passive. I believe rather that it is middle, and intransitive, in so far as a true middle may be called intransitive. The sea was "drawing itself back (πάλιν) toward" the original shore-line, and, as appropriate to water, one may translate πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην as "surging back." The ἐπὶ in composition does not mean, as it would in a transitive usage, "toward it-

³ Classen, in his edition of 1875, attributed the emendation to Van Herwerden.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, note on III, 89.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 392.

self,"⁶ but rather "toward some outside object." In the middle infinitive, ἐπισπάσασθαι means "to surge toward shore," just as ἐπιθέσθαι, as a *comparandum*, means "to attack."

The figure and the translation of ἐπισπάσασθαι in Thuc., IV, 9, 2, thus become clear. The Spartan troops were to come ashore like a tidal wave. At least, one may conceive that this is the image which Thucydides had in mind: an image even today natural to the idiom of amphibious warfare.

"... He went outside the wall to the sea, where he expected especially that they would try to land, into terrain which was rough and rocky facing the open sea, and where, since their own wall was weakest there, he thought they would try to surge ashore."

BENJAMIN D. MERITT.

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

⁶ Examples of transitive usage are numerous in the philosophers, including Plutarch, and in other historians than Thucydides (e.g., Herodotus, Xenophon, Polybius, Appian).

REVIEWS.

N. I. HERESCU, ed. *Ovidiana, Recherches sur Ovide, publiées à l'occasion du bimillénaire de la naissance du poète.* (Études, mémoires et notes inédits dus à MM. Adamesteanu, Alfonsi, Arnaldi, Axelson, Bardon, Bruère, Crahay, D'Elia, Della Corte, Enk, Farrarino, Grimal, Mlle. Guillemin, Herescu, Herrmann, Herter, Higham, Hubaux, Knight, Kenney, Ker, Lambrino, Lee, Lenz, Lozovan, Marache, Marin, Marouzeau, Munari, Paratore, Peeters, Richmond, Saint-Denis, Salmon, Seel, Skutsch, Stephens, Mlle. Thomas, Wilkinson.) Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1958. Pp. xv + 567 + indices.

This book is a very special kind of *Festschrift*, the tribute of classical scholars to Ovid on his two-thousandth birthday. As the principal official expression of the learned world on this author in his bi-millennial year, it merits peculiar consideration and raises inevitably the queries: how do we today feel about Ovid? What does he mean to us? In the following pages, I want to "review" the book not so much for what it is in itself as for the clue it gives us to Ovid and to a few problems which are today connected with Ovid and Ovidian criticism and scholarship.

Professor Herescu has done good service as editor: to him it fell to gather contributions from all over the learned world and in five languages (French, German, English, Italian, Latin) with due attention to the range of topics and of contributors. Inevitably there are omissions both of persons and subjects (great living Ovidians such as Hans Diller and Hermann Fränkel are absent; the treatment of the *Fasti* is scant indeed) but this is doubtless due to various special circumstances such as always beset books like these. More important a deficiency is the relative lack of true literary criticism. F. Peeters' query in the final article: "Ou sont, je vous prie, les études qui envisagent Ovide en poète . . . ?" is not answered here; instead Ovid remains, for the majority of the contributors, an object of strenuous scholarship, his work a proper subject of technical metrical analysis, *Quellenforschung*, influence-tracing by lists of parallel passages, etc. Even the articles that examine his style and personality (e.g. Arnaldi on his *rhetoric*, Bardon on his *baroque* quality, Saint-Denis on his *malice*, Alfonsi on his *philosophy*) never really envisage more than single aspects of his poetry. But as an Ovidian *Festschrift*—a garland woven by scholars—it is of high quality and together comprises articles which in erudition and scope stand up well beside most of the articles actually written over the last two decades before its appearance. To choose amid such a plenty is invidious but I found the studies of Arnaldi, Saint-Denis, P. J. Enk, Paratore, and Bruère especially noteworthy.

The collection is divided into six major parts: (1) General Studies (rhetoric, metre, Ovid's relation to painting); (2) The Poet of Love; (3) Poet of the Gods (mostly on the *Metamorphoses*); (4) The Poet

of Exile (The Exilic poems, his Gothic *libellus*, and the causes of his *relegatio*); (5) *Minora et Incerta* (*Halieutica, Nux*); and (6) Influence, Survival, and 'Actuality' (Peeter's concluding remarks on Ovid in relation to actual Ovidian studies).

1. E. T. Salmon (pp. 3-20) writes interestingly of Ovid's relation to Sulmo. His contention that Ovid owed his senatorial opportunities (not taken advantage of) to Sulmo's support of Caesar in 49 B. C. seems eminently reasonable. Arnaldi's study of Ovid's rhetoric holds that Ovid liberated himself from the exhaustiveness and abstractness of the contemporary rhetorical schools by the process of maturation and his study of classical and Alexandrine Greek models; hence the difference between the *Heroides* and the *Metamorphoses*. T. F. Higham (pp. 32-48) emphasizes the 'rhetorical' caste of all writings of Ovid's time and stresses both how much rhetoric did for him and how "he gave to rhetoric as much or more than he got." Both these articles are suggestive but would, I believe, have been improved by some careful examination of texts. Just what does Ovid do with rhetorical *topoi*? Just how far can any one poem be broken—successfully—into mere *topoi*? And just how *original* or *poetic* is Ovid's use of any given *topos*? Hans Herter's article (pp. 49-74) on Ovid's relation to the art of painting is mainly negative but not, for that reason, less valuable: the point he makes, mainly by a rather lengthy discussion of the Phaethon episode in the *Met.*, is that Ovid's pictorial style, especially in descriptions of imaginary works of art, is a matter of literary inspiration and imagination, not of imitation of actual ancient paintings or sculptures. He quite proves his point, as I see it. Nor does H. Bardon's article (pp. 75-100) on 'Ovid and the Baroque' deny Herter's point since he takes *baroque* in a quite extended sense as a kind of post- and anticlassical dynamism, a development of details at the expense of the ensemble, the systematic search for variety. All this he finds in Ovid but I do not think he makes it clear how much of this is Ovidian and how much is simply Hellenistic. Actually the Ovidian style which he characterizes as baroque seems to me much more Ovidian than e.g. Callimachean, Apollonian, or Theocritean and far indeed from Virgilian. But these distinctions need to be made clear: we feel, for example, a kinship between Bernini's famous Daphne and Ovid's, but to what is this really due? I think that Bardon would have gained great insight into the matter had he read Hans Diller's admirable essay on Ovid (an article,¹ I might remark, which is ignored by all writers in this collection). To the articles of Marouzeau and of Jackson Knight and Axelson (both on metrics) I cannot do justice here: Knight well describes the effect of Ovid's avoidance of elision, plenitude of dactyls, etc.; Axelson, that of his monotonous pentameter endings. I think all reasonable critics will admit that Ovid paid a great price for the facility and fluidity of his verse but, as Knight remarks, this fitted his humorous and satirical spirit even if it excluded him from the 'inner shrine' of poetry. All in all, this section on 'Ovid in general' has a great deal to say but there is, alas, no truly critical estimate of Ovid—the *whole* Ovid—in it.

¹ "Die dichterische Eigenart von Ovids Metamorphosen," *Hum. Gymn.*, XLV (1934), pp. 25-37.

2. The section on Ovid as 'poet of love' commences with a long article (pp. 139-83) by Otto Seel on Ovid's use in *Am.*, III, 14 of Herodotus, I, 8, 3 (the relation of exposed female nakedness to female reputation). Seel, unlike other critics, especially Harder, sees in both Herodotus and Ovid a common element—an objective statement about the way women are reputed chaste—though an extraordinary refinement and subtlety in Ovid's version of the theme. I cannot discuss the point here but I am inclined to think that Ovid is more 'malicious' or 'sophisticated' (thus un-Herodotean) than Seel thinks. This malicious quality of Ovid is excellently brought out in the admirable contribution of Saint-Denis. I cannot agree with his defense of Corinna's actuality as a person, nor his view that Ovid is basically antifeminist and I think he underrates the element of burlesque—even burlesque of Ovid's amatory predecessors in the *Amores*. I can hardly see that the Silenus mosaic from Pompeii (which he reproduces opposite p. 198) was suggested by Ovid's description (cf. Hans Herter's article mentioned above). But Saint-Denis writes with verve and correctly assails the romantic conception of love which would read Ovid out of court. I cannot see that E. J. Kenney has added too much to our understanding of Ovid's *nequitia* though some of his parallels with Virgil's *Georgics* are interesting: he is apparently unaware that Ovid's burlesque (at least of Virgil and the elegiac poets) has been treated in some detail by E. K. Rand, R. Reitzenstein, and myself.² Salvatore D'Elia's article on the chronology of the amatory poems is an extremely sober and well-reasoned argument. His results, listed on p. 221, seem to me both modest and convincing; his most important point is that the second edition of the *Amores* did not introduce any new elegies. Alan Ker's textual comments on certain passages in the amatory poems are interesting but, to me, doubtful: specifically I cannot agree with his treatment of *Her.*, 4, 135-8 and *Her.*, 5, 81-4 though he is possibly right as to *Ars*, I, 191-2 (*annis* rather than *Heinsius' animis*).

3. The section on the 'Poet of the Gods' contains articles on the *Metamorphoses* by L. P. Wilkinson, Pierre Grimal, F. della Corte, L. Alfonsi, W. C. Stephens, R. Crahay and J. Hubaux (jointly), Mlle. Guillemin, P. J. Enk, and F. Munari and one (by F. Ferrarino) on the 'Praise of Venus' in *Fasti*, IV, 91-114. Wilkinson makes some good observations on the plan of the *Metamorphoses*: he sees its *novelty* in the systematic combination of linked narratives with a chronological arrangement (neither being new in itself). This is probably true though it is suggested at least in the Silenus song of the sixth *Eclogue* or Clymene's narrations a *Chao* of *densi amores* (*Georgics*, IV, 345-7). I also like Wilkinson's accent on the spaciousness of Ovid's world,—on his 'panoramic imagination' (p. 236). But it is to me disappointing that Wilkinson fails to see any plan or principle of arrangement beyond the sketchy chronological succession of myths. In this respect Grimal's essay on the poem's 'legendary chronology' also adds little. His observation that those myths with mortals for heroes demand a probable order of succession (unlike the 'timeless' stories of gods) is true and suggestive but his attempt to

² Cf. my article in *T. A. P. A.*, LXIX (1938), pp. 188-229 which cites both Rand and Reitzenstein and discusses their work.

establish a 'legendary chronology' misses, I think, the real relation of the legends and concentrates only on the superficial links. I also think that Alfonsi, Stephens, and Crahay-Hubaux on the whole miss the basic continuity or unity of the poem: it is true, as Alfonsi argues, that there is a connection between the philosophic exordium and the Pythagorean philosophy of the last book which is, in a sense, a philosophic explanation of metamorphoses and Rome (so have I argued myself),³ though I cannot accept the rather labored thesis of Crahay-Hubaux as to the identity of Numa and Augustus and the latter's Pythagorean immortality. Again I am not convinced by Stephens' attempt to see in the figures of Hercules and Ulysses a reflection of Stoic doctrine in Books I (Exordium) and XV (Pythagoras). The facts surely are that the philosophy of Books I and XV is not really an essential part of the poem and that the narrative links are quite superficial. Yet the placing of the myths is, for all that, very deliberate: partly it is an artistic or aesthetic succession (a matter of balance, variety, contrast, emphasis) and partly (I think) a development in depth,—the solemn opening (creation, four ages, flood) leading into the richly comic eroticism of the gods (the contrast of *maiestas et amor*) that in turn is displaced by the theme of divine vengeance which fades imperceptibly into the theme of human perversion (where Ovid for once ceases to be frivolous and sees, in his own way, 'the pity of it') with a somewhat unfortunate revival of chronology in the concluding sections on Troy and Roman history. The real order is from god to man and from rich satire to subtle pathos. To Ovid the gods are, essentially, either humorous or cruel (his attempts at true theodicy are half-hearted) but there is, for all this, a depth of sympathy in that nature of his where metamorphosis replaces theodicy since passion is after all unaccountable to authoritarian morality, be it human or divine. At bottom there is nothing Stoic about his system except perhaps his belief in cosmic sympathy. Its Augustanism, I cannot but think, is quite superficial (Ovid is always on the side of *amor*, not *maiestas*). I state these ideas (which will be developed at some length in my forthcoming book) merely to suggest what is lacking in these essays,—incidentally learned and brilliant as they so often are. In my view, to search for the poetical meaning of the *Metamorphoses* in such wholly adventitious elements as their chronology, narrative linkage, or formal philosophy is to miss the main point, the source of their charm, the reality of their humor and their pathos.

Of the other essays of this section, I will not pause to discuss those of Ferrarino and Mlle. Guillemin—the former cleverly analyzes the combination of elegiac and Lucretian elements in Ovid's *Laus Veneris*; the latter expertly compares the 'vie paysanne' of Ovid and Virgil—, but concern myself only with P. J. Enk's exciting treatment of the 'double-recension' of the *Metamorphoses*. Enk reviews the question especially in the light of Medner's attack on Dursteler's defense of Ovidian authorship of the two 'recensions.' He concludes (p. 346) that the doublets at VII, 145, I, 544 f., VI, 280 f., VIII, 597 f., 652 f., and 693 f. are Ovidian but that the doublets at VIII, 285 f., 697 f., XI, 57 f., and XII, 192 are later

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 225-9. I have now greatly modified the view I held in this article.

interpolations. By and large his arguments seem to me sound though I would stress, myself, the eminently Ovidian quality of the 'long' version of VIII, 598-611. However, the point I want to make here is the light his discussion throws on the entire text of the poem, a point which he himself apparently does not see or else deliberately excludes from his discussion.

Richard T. Bruère and myself were interested in this problem in connection with our work some twenty years ago in Prof. E. K. Rand's Harvard 'Seminary' in Ovid. In an article in the *H. S. C. P.*, (L [1939], p. 96) Bruère announced an 'article in preparation' by himself and me on 'the much-disputed point of the double-recension.' This article never, in fact, appeared since it, along with the 'critical edition' of the poem we were then planning, was postponed in the interest of other matters by us both. So far at least as I myself am concerned, I do not now expect to write such an article. I therefore take this opportunity to indicate my own views (based on a good deal of work with the MSS) in bare summary here, since Enk's article greatly strengthens them at several points. (It is to be hoped Bruère will give us his.) The matter is I think of crucial importance for anyone who will hereafter edit or work with the text of the poem.

Magnus in his *editio maior* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1914) divided the MSS into two classes (O and X): the former (O) represented a revised 5th or 6th century codex with summaries or *argumenta* of the narrative and included the MSS M and N and the fragments β , π , κ ; the latter (X) represented a quite different 'unrevised' tradition (which lacked the *argumenta*) to which belonged the MSS F, l, h, e and the bulk of the Heinsian MSS (cf. Munari's new identification of many of these Heinsian MSS in this volume under review, pp. 347-9) and the fragments ϵ , τ , μ , ν . To this list Slater⁴ added several MSS (especially the O MS, U or Urbinas 341) and corrected Magnus at several points (notably he was aware that ϵ contained some of the *argumenta* though not in the first hand, and was thus possibly also an O MS). Rand and his pupils (notably W. F. Smith, Bruère, and myself) attempted to supplant Magnus' dual archetype theory (O and X) by a single archetype theory (the X MSS being grouped under two headings: $Z^2 = \epsilon, \tau$ and $Z^4 = F l k d e g h o p$ Planudes, etc., a group derived from a Z^2 MS but also containing many good readings from a quite different tradition). Rand himself was exceedingly reluctant to abandon the theory of a common archetype for all MSS (making even the special Z^4 readings depend on another branch of the stemma, Y, to which he attributed the fragments α and λ). But it is impossible to prove the dependence of Z^4 on Y (cf. Bruère, *op. cit.*, p. 114) and the reading *Met.*, I, 503 *aventi/fugit* proves the substantial independence of the Z^4 MSS e, l, h^2, U^2 from all the rest in a capital error almost certainly attributable to the archetype of O or of all MSS, having, or derived from MSS having, the *argumenta*.⁵ Now if we examine the 'double recension' passages it seems clear that the 'fuller' or 'emended' version in each case goes back to a Z^2 or Z^4 MS as the following table makes evident:

⁴ *Towards a Text of the Metamorphosis of Ovid* (Oxford, 1927). The sigla here used are explained in Bruère, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-8 (cf. also the stemmas on pp. 101 and 113).

⁵ Cf. Bruère, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

- (1) I, 544 f. Both versions are contaminated in all MS except MN (=Magnus' O)
- (2) VI, 280 f. contaminated in all MSS or possibly not double recension at all.
- (3) VII, 284 f. The excellent and far more poetical 286 (of which 285 is an inferior doublet) is omitted by O and Slater's U.
- (4) VIII, 595 f. Here lines 597-602 are omitted by e¹ IMU (597-601a by N). MN also omit lines 603-5.
- (5) VIII, 651 f. Here 651-656a are omitted by MN (first hand) though found in τ (Z²) and the Z⁴ MS (e F U l) and the Urbinas (Slater's U).

Now if we accept Enk's argument that the 'doublets' are Ovidian, then it seems to me to follow that the longer versions at least in the passages I, 544, VIII, 595 f., and VIII, 651 f. (as well as the single line VIII, 286) are the products of a later revision by Ovid himself. It is inconceivable to me that he would have 'condensed' the passages in question, entirely probable that he would have expanded them. To hold, on the other hand, that an interpolator could have condensed the longer versions seems to me even more difficult: What could possibly have been his motive? I spare the elaborate stylistic analysis necessary to prove that the longer versions are Ovidian (unfortunately Enk does not really supply it) but it should surely be no great task for anyone familiar with Ovid's style. In this case we are driven to the conclusion that the 'final' version of the *Metamorphoses* is to be found in the X or Z⁴ MS, secondarily in the Z² MS (cf. cases 1 and 5 above).⁶ This probably means also that a great number of other Z⁴ or X readings must be accepted in lieu of O readings (cf. the short list in Bruère, *op. cit.*, p. 119). There is of course much contamination of both O and X MSS (cf. the case of U in VIII, 651 f.) and no one X or Z⁴ MS seems completely reliable. It seems, we can say, that not only Magnus' reliance on O but Rand's insistence on a common archetype were mistaken, while Medner's refusal to see anything but a wholly interpolated text is quite unfounded. There is of course interpolation (especially in the *aetas Ovidiana*) but it is relatively minor: the great fact for future editors to take

⁶ There is no doubt that ϵ is descended from an archetype common also to O. Cf. Bruère, *passim* and my article *H. S. C. P.*, XLVII (1936), pp. 131-63. I am not certain, however, that the 'good' readings (e.g. VIII, 651 f. found in τ , a MS closely related to ϵ) of Z² (ϵ , τ) are descended from this archetype. It is more probable that Z² itself either contained many X variants or had been conflated with an X MS. Unfortunately we possess no complete Z² MS but only the very small portion of the poem preserved in the fragments ϵ and τ . In any event the Z⁴ tradition is quite distinct from Magnus' O or Rand's Z¹. e (Erfurt: Cod. Ampolitanus prior) and l (Laur. XXXVI 12) are probably the 'best' (or least corrupted) Z⁴ MSS. Cf. again Bruère, p. 116. It seems clear that a new edition of the text should take far more careful account of these MSS as well as the Heinsian MSS. As things now stand, *by far* the best existing text of the poem is that of Heinsius' Elzevir edition (Amsterdam, 1659). I am inclined to believe that a new text based primarily on the Z⁴ MSS (as for the reasons given I think it should be) would approximate very closely to that of Heinsius.

into account is that *two* versions of the *Met.* (one revised by Ovid himself) circulated throughout late antiquity and the middle ages and that, unfortunately, it is the annotated archetype of the O MS (given priority by all recent editors) which represents the 'unrevised' version of Ovid while it is the so-called *deteriores* or X MSS which actually give us Ovid's final judgment. In short: the basic and important variants in the text go back to antiquity and it is the carefully edited fifth or sixth century archetype containing the *argumenta* which is in fact the least Ovidian of the two traditions which have come down to us from antiquity.

4. The section on 'The Poet of the Exile' can be treated very briefly. Paratore's article (pp. 353-78) on the 'Autobiography' of *Tristia*, IV, 10 is a remarkable piece of detailed analysis and criticism. He makes especially the point that the lines which refer to Ovid's deceased parents (79-90) lack the metrical monotony (i. e. the rhymes within the pentameter and the cola ending with each couplet) of the rest of the poem. In general Paratore is hard on Ovid: he compares him unfavorably with the other elegists in respect of his uniform, mechanical structure and abstract diction and sees in his intellectualistic striving for effect an "assenza totale di un sincero slancio poetico." Much of this is true but I think also that Paratore misses the very Ovidian personality of the 'Autobiographer' though this is, after all, *not* one of his best poems. Lambrino's sketch of Tomis and its graeco-gothic population, Adamesteanu's brief essay on Ovid's *gothicus libellus*, Lozovan's on his bilingualism are interesting explanations of subjects about which we after all can know little. D. Marin and R. Marache speculate on the cause of his exile and his exile itself. Marin makes the point that he displeased by his amatory poems both Augustus and his principal opponents (straight-laced Stoic republicans). "The true *crimen carminis* is to be found in the *concordia discors* of the governmental authorities on the one hand, the opposition on the other." Marache sees, especially in *Tristia* III, a concealed but mounting hostility to the emperor: this only makes Ovid's flattery all the more impossible. Most interesting is Herescu's analysis of Ovid's epitaph, which he interprets as the poet's protest against his arbitrary condemnation and as an affirmation of his liberty as an artist. I am not sure that much new light has been shed here on the exile. The essential point which stands out is that Ovid's relatively frivolous conception of the poet's role displeased the Emperor. Would this have sufficed without the *error*? I think the answer is probably negative. Cf. Mason Hammond's treatment of the question is *H. S. C. P.*, LXIII (1958), pp. 345-61.

5. I shall not linger on the J. A. Richmond-Skutsch discussion of the *Halieutica* which is an excellent textual study quite unsusceptible of brief analysis or discussion: much the same must be said of A. L. Lee's treatment of the authorship of the *Nux* (it is Ovidian in spirit, not authorship). The articles of Bruère on *Color Ovidianus* in Silius' *Punica*, Herrmann on Ovid's influence on the *Octavia*, Elizabeth Thomas on 'Ovidian Echoes in Juvenal' are real contributions to our knowledge,—Bruère especially has made us see how Ovid served to redeem Silius from the dreariness of historical epic: his best lines are those which owe something to Ovid. Would hat he

had owed more, for Virgil certainly did him no good! W. F. Lenz has contributed much to our understanding of Ovid's vogue in the Middle Ages by explaining the nature and the MS setting of the *De Medicamine Aurium*. Finally Peeters calls for a new appraisal: in his view Ovid was after all a *complete* poet whose work was cut short only by his exile.

All in all, this is a worthy tribute to Ovid. I cannot but feel that the atomic age is not well suited to his mood and genius: it is all the more praiseworthy that M. Herescu and his collaborators have done him such honor.

BROOKS OTIS.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

E. LOBEL, C. H. ROBERTS, E. G. TURNER and J. W. B. BARNES. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XXIV*. Edited with Translations and Notes. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1957. Pp. xiii + 216; 16 pls. £6. (*Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, No. 35.)

For generally laudatory reviews of the volumes of this series see almost any review. For the present reviewer's opinion of Volume XXIII see *A. J. P.*, LXXIX (1958), pp. 294-8. Volume XXIV maintains the high standards of excellence of editing and interpretation which we have come to expect. What is noteworthy about it is the great variety of the material it contains: biblical texts, new fragments of Aleman with commentary and lexicon, a book label, fragments of a commentary on the *Iliad*, of Callimachus' *Hecale*, of a history of Sicily and of subjects for declamations, two leaves from a codex of Terence's *Andria*, some Aristotle and Aeschines, a Homeric glossary, the ground plan of a house and a considerable miscellany of memoranda, letters, petitions, accounts, deeds, and the like. This variety called for four editors: Roberts for the Terence; Turner for the history and the declamations plus Aeschines, Aristotle, and the house plan; Barnes for the glossary and the documents; and Lobel for the remainder. The reviewer is inclined to believe that he should himself be similarly multiplied.

The biblical fragments are from *Psalms*, *Matthew*, and *Luke*. That from the *Psalms* has been assigned Rahlfs' number 2070 while the other three are given papyrus numbers 69-71. The small fragment from *Matthew* XIX (No. 2385) is noteworthy for its similarity in text and handwriting to the *Vaticanus*.

Most important of all, as representing additions to the very scant remains we have, are the fragments from Aleman and the related texts of fragments 2387-2394.

2387 consists of 33 fragments, all of which, except 1 and 3, are minute, containing hardly a certainly identifiable word. Fragments 1-3 are apparently all from one and the same piece of the *Parthenia*. Lobel calculates that the poem preserved by 1 and 3 contained not less than 126 lines. This calculation is based, one would guess, on the fact that there are at least four columns each containing at least 30 lines, as can be seen by comparing col. ii and iii of Fr. 3. Since the strophe is nine lines long, four columns would allow for fourteen

and a fraction strophes. As Lobel observes, the Louvre *Parthenion* contains not less than 112 lines.

The poem opened with an invocation to the Muses (ὉΛ)υμπίδες) but beyond this almost everything is in uncertainty as to subject. This is not surprising when one considers the elusiveness of the much better preserved Louvre *Parthenion*. Lobel observes that the speaker appears to be a female member of the chorus. Snatches are intelligible here and there, as in Fr. 3: "with unnerving desire, more melting than sleep and than death in (her) glance" (1-2), "like some star winging its way across the glittering heaven or a golden bough or delicate down" (6-8).

The meter of the nine-line strophe is in descending rhythms, dactylic in 1, 7, and 8, trochaic in 2-4 and mixed in 5 and 9, while 6 is uncertain but presumably trochaic. A note at the top of the first column testifies to the critical attention of Aristonicus and a Ptolemy, and the presence of marginal and interlinear comments in as many perhaps as five different hands indicates the scholarly character of this first century text.

Number 2388 is composed of 22 very small fragments of a second century text also ascribed to Aleman largely on the basis of the language. Fragment 1 preserves the beginning of twelve lines in which only a few words are recognizable including Κλησίμβ[ροτα.

2389 comprises thirty-five fragments from a first century commentary on Aleman. The contents are tantalizing. Fragment 1, within the brief scope of seventeen incomplete lines, mentions Menelaus, the Dioscuri, Helen, Therapnae, the Bacchae, Cadmus, and Hades. We know from Harpocration that Therapnae was mentioned by Aleman in the first book of his poems. We know that Menelaus and Helen were worshipped at Therapnae and it was the place where, according to Pindar, the Dioscuri were supposed to be buried on alternate days. Fragment 3 also deals with the Dioscuri and their temple (σ[ι]λόδαυτο[ν στ]έγος). The lemma includes words identifiable with Diehl's fragment 89 followed immediately by the first words of Diehl's fragment 2. All this clearly belongs to the commentary on book one. The same is presumably true of fragment 4 which refers to the Leucippid Phoebe. Line 6 of this fragment is followed by a coronis indicating the end of the commentary on a poem. What follows refers to the Tyndarids and includes a lemma beginning Μῶσαι Μ[ν]αμοσύνα.

Fragments 6 and 7 of number 2389 deal with the Louvre *Parthenion* and give lemmatic quotations from lines 59-63 and 73-7. The lemmata confirm the text of the Louvre papyrus in every case but unfortunately add nothing new. The commentary is disappointing. Column i of fragment 6 discusses Colaxaeon and Ibenian horses and quotes Aristarchus on the subject. Column ii contains parts of 32 lines but adds nothing to our understanding of lines 60-3 of the poem. The same may be said of fragment 8.

Fragment 9 contains in its last line the words ἀνὴρ ἄγρειος ου.[corresponding to part of the first line of Diehl's fragment 13 from which it is probable that we are here in the commentary on the second book of Aleman. The gist of the comment is that Aleman is a Laconian as is evidenced by a quotation including the words ἀντίφαριν Λάκωνι τέ[κτονα πα]ρθενίων σοφῶν Ἀλκμᾶ[νι, etc. We are

also told that Aristotle was of the opinion that Aleman was a Lydian because of his misunderstanding of the words of our fragment 13 (D): ἀλλὰ Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἀκρῶν.

Fragment 35, the only other of any considerable size, deals with Πιτάνη and Δύμαιναι at one point, with Χαλκίς and Χαλκιδεῖς at another. It refers to Homer, Theopompus, and perhaps Pratinas. But nothing intelligible can be made out.

Number 2390 is composed of fifty fragments of a manuscript dated to the second century. In so far as these fragments are properly identified as belonging to one manuscript the work contained is a commentary on Aleman, as is clear from fragment 2 which preserves the major portion of two columns of commentary on two poems of Aleman. Lines 1-22 of column ii of this fragment have to do with Spartan kings. Leotyehidas appears in a lemma, Polydorus is mentioned in the commentary, and a Timasimbrotia is mentioned as the daughter of one or the other. From the commentary which begins on line 23 and continues through the next column it appears that the next poem dealt with began with reference to the Muses. It soon progressed to a cosmogonical statement the details of which cannot be made out with clarity. From the trend of the comments it would appear that Aleman pictured the beginning as chaotic and undifferentiated matter (τετα]ραγμένην καὶ ἀπόητον). Then came Thetis whose role is compared to that of the smith in relation to bronze. After Thetis comes πόρος, which was apparently described by Aleman as πρέσγ[υς and said by the scholiast to be οἶον ἀρχή, and this was followed by τέκμων (οἶον τέλος). Next in the succession appeared ἄμαρ τε καὶ σελάνα καὶ τρίτον σκότος. Πόρος was already known for Aleman, since the scholiast on line 13 of the Louvre *Parthenion* links it with αἶσα, and it is evident from the text there that Aleman referred to the pair as eldest (γεραίτατοι) of the gods.

2391 is made up of 36 minute scraps of commentary on a poetical text in the Doric dialect which is naturally taken to be Aleman.

2392 is a fragmentary colophon of a commentary on book four of Aleman's poems by a Dionysius.

The existence of a non-alphabetic Aleman lexicon or a lexicon-like commentary is proven by 2393.

Less than might be expected is added by these fragments to our knowledge of the dialect of Aleman. Following Page's analysis of the evidence in his edition of the *Parthenion* we see that syllables containing a naturally short vowel followed by mute and liquid are consistently treated as long (IIa) and that this is true even when the vowel and the consonants are not in the same word (μῆ φρένας,]πῶ γλεφάρων) on which Page (IIc) had inadequate evidence. In χαίταισιν ἴσδει (2387, 3 ii 12) we have an example of ν movable appended to a noun to avoid hiatus which we may add to Page's examples of verbs so treated (III). There are still no cases of ν movable making position. An example of compensatory lengthening in κᾶλδον (2387, 1, 5) is contrary to the rule (Xa). In χηρὸς (2387, 3 ii 20) we have a book-text example of this form of compensation in Aleman in addition to Herodian's quotation (Xb). New in Aleman is the equivalence of γ to β in πρέσγ[υς (2390, 2 iii 20. Cf. Page, XII 3). Further examples of initial σ for θ are found in σαλαμ[, σανάτω and σιοῖσι; of medial σ for θ in ασανατας, μαλσακα[, παρσεν[,

π]αρσενικᾶν, πόσω (XII 3, ii). At 2387, 3 ii 12 ἰσδεῖ gives a book-text example of the spelling σδ which preponderates in the quotation (XII 3 iv).]πιππων of 2388, 6, 9 is an example of the psilosis in synaloephe said by Apollonius Dyscolus to be common in Doric (XII 1 i). From 2391, 21c 2 we have in]γλυκη an apparent example of η for εἰ in a book-text (XII 2 ii).

2394 gives us 14 fragments of a second or third century manuscript which contained Dorian choral lyric not identifiable as Aleman with traces of comments in several hands, but the remnants are too slight to yield any sense. Lyric verses, with some Dorian features but certainly not Aleman, in 2395 have to do with a Centaur's request for someone's daughter in marriage. The tale of Dorian material is completed by 2396, a papyrus label from a scroll of the second century which reads Τρύφωνος τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου περὶ διαλέκτου Λακόνων τῶν εἰς β.

Scholiastic literature is also represented by 15 scant fragments of a commentary on the seventeenth book of the *Iliad*.

2398 supplements lines 43-58 of Pfeiffer's fragment 260 of Callimachus' *Hecale*, which were based on two other papyri, and shows that Pfeiffer's fragment 346 belongs immediately before line 44 of his 260.

The most extensive new classical text of the volume is 2399 which represents substantial parts of four columns plus a few fragments of a first century B. C. manuscript containing an account of Sicilian affairs under Agathocles which is tentatively ascribed with strong probability to Duris of Samos. Whoever the author may have been, the account is clearly one of the sources of Diodorus Siculus.

2400 is a list of subjects for rhetorical exercises from a third century papyrus. The three subjects preserved involve Cleon, Euripides, and Alexander.

2401 is of the greatest interest both palaeographically and textually. It comprises two mutilated leaves from a possibly fourth century codex containing the text of Terence's *Andria* 602-33, 635-68, 924-50 and 957-79. The codex was of a rather tall format, about 22 × 31 cm. The hand of the scribe gives the impression of rustic capitals at first sight but is certainly not that. It contains many cursive and minuscule elements but really defies classification or comparison with examples from either papyrus or parchment. The text does not fall in clearly with either the Bembiné or the Calliopian branch of the transmission. It is, on the whole, a poor witness, showing correspondences with both and divergences from both as well as both good and bad independent readings. It will probably be of greater interest palaeographically for it is a welcome addition to the still small number of early papyrus codices.

Evidence on extant texts is presented by 2402 Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 2403 the *Categories*, 2404 Aeschines' *In Ctesiphontem*.

2405 is a rather routine piece of a second or third century Homeric glossary in which the glosses follow the order of the text for *Iliad* I, 58-128.

Of the documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods I single out only the first two for comment. 2406 is a unique house plan from the second century. One can only agree with Turner that it could not have served as an architect's plan on the basis of which

building would have been carried out. Although it is drawn with obvious skill and facility it is very sketchy. Interestingly enough the central portion is labeled ἀτρείον.

No brief mention can do justice to the document numbered 2407. Without trying to take cognizance of its significance as a public document it would be unfair to any reader who has had the patience to follow through this inventory of classical texts not to draw attention to this minor classic. It is described by the editor as *Memoranda of Proceedings of a Public Meeting*. It is evidently an attempt to give something like a stenographic report of such a meeting, a sort of *Congressional Record*. For any who enjoy reading the *Congressional Record* or have attended a faculty meeting or the meeting of any such deliberative body it will have an immediate appeal and a special savor. The discussion is complicated and obscure but not without spirit. I quote the editor's translation from near the beginning of the document (p. 152):

As he continued, the assembly cried: 'Noble syndie! You have administered well! Hurrah for the patriot! Hurrah for the man of initiative! One who is worthy of the Prefect by a unique discharge of the syndicate! Just such men as this are needed!' Apollodorus, ex-magistrate: 'I am certifying in the minutes that in the number of twelve my brother Euhemerus, by order of the present syndie, has already performed liturgy, and we request a copy to be laid before us.'

Robert's *Rules of Order* were clearly not being followed and it is not altogether our lack of understanding of the matters under discussion which prevents following the thread of the remarks. Any lack of light from the discussion is fully made up for by the heat which is generated further on (p. 153):

Pactumenicus Nemesianus, former hypomnematographus: 'If my credit is good, it is no thanks to you.' Menelaus, syndie: 'And it is no thanks to you if mine is. For the most estimable assembly knows how I have administered the syndicate.' Heron, son of Euhemerus: 'I have certified that nothing has been paid in to the assembly in which I was posted up.' Menelaus, syndie: 'Do not confuse the assembly on a pretext of twenty . . . Pay the fine!' Heron, son of Euhemerus: 'You are the one who confuses everything.' Menelaus, syndie: 'The beginning of conspiracy and confusion (is) already (here). Have we already stopped . . . ? Pay the fine!' Heron, son of Euhemerus: 'I owe nothing!' Menelaus, syndie: 'I am demanding from you; the Prefect is demanding from you; don't try to humbug me.'

Unhappily the text soon breaks off after this and we shall probably never know the outcome of the meeting.

In general it must be said that this volume will probably be more notable for what may be learned from its contents about the transmission of ancient literature than for what we learn about the literature itself. The editors have done their excellent best and made the most of even chaff, but the gleanings were poor.

LLOYD W. DALY.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

MICHEL RUCH. *L'Hortensius de Cicéron: Histoire et reconstitution.* Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1958. Pp. 186. (*Collection d'Études Anciennes*, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé.)

Although the *Hortensius* of Cicero has survived only in fragments, the general character of the work is well known from the remarks that St. Augustine (*Conf.*, III, 7; VIII, 17) makes about the effect it had on him when he read it as a student at Carthage. The standard critical edition of the fragments is that edited by Mueller in part IV, vol. III of the Teubner edition of Cicero (Leipzig, 1890; reprinted 1898). In 1892 Otto Plasberg published these fragments in what he judged to be the order they occupied in the original work, and with them he supplied a Latin introduction and commentary. This study by Plasberg has been highly esteemed, and rightly so, and has remained the standard work on the *Hortensius* to this day. But in the intervening years, scholars have continued to study the fragments, and considerable pains have been taken in an effort to determine the relation of the *Hortensius* to Aristotle and Iamblichus, its influence on such writers as Augustine and Boethius, and its fate during the Middle Ages.

Michael Ruch, then, has undertaken a work that has long been needed; and it is not only Ciceronian scholars but also students of Greek Philosophy and patristic thought who will be grateful to him for the quantity of learned material he has assembled in this volume. The introductory matter, which occupies fifty-three pages, covers such topics as the relation of the *Hortensius* to the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle, the structure of the *Hortensius*, its date of composition, its influence on later writers, and its final disappearance. The rest of the volume is given to the text and commentary, the fragments being arranged in what Ruch considers their original sequence. Each fragment is numbered (with no reference, unfortunately, to either Plasberg or Mueller), and immediately after each Latin text there follow a French translation and commentary.

In his preface (p. 9) Ruch points out that there are three problems to be faced: the establishment and translation of the text, the restoration of the context, and the discovery of the order of the fragments. But all these three problems, he reminds us, have to be worked on together; and he goes on to say that one must have an *a priori* idea of the structure of the work before one can put the fragments in a certain order. Then, as if to disarm criticism, he adds: "Dans l'état actuel des fragments, toutes les hypothèses semblent permises, lorsqu'on veut à tout prix arriver à un remembrement" (*ibid.*). But it must be said in all fairness that this is not a capricious undertaking. Ruch points out (p. 10) that three things can supply information for a commentary on the *Hortensius*: a knowledge of Cicero's other dialogues, a clear idea of Cicero's philosophical convictions at the date of the *Hortensius*, and an examination of the previous writers from whom Cicero borrowed as well as the later authors who imitated his work. Furthermore, our sources have not left us entirely in the dark as to the general structure of the *Hortensius*. We know, for instance, from a remark of Trebellius Pollio

that it was a *protrepticus* or exhortation to the study of philosophy: *nec ignota esse arbitror, quae dixit M. Tullius in Hortensio, quem ad exemplum protreptici scripsit* (Frag. 8 Mueller). Now it is generally conceded that a *protrepticus* (λόγος προτρεπτικός) among the Greeks was a speech rather than a dialogue; but even a cursory glance through the fragments of the *Hortensius* will reveal the fact that it contained statements made by more than one speaker. This apparent contradiction, however, is easily solved, for there is evidence to show that the first part was a dialogue carried on by Catulus, Lucullus, Hortensius, and Cicero, and that the second part, the *protrepticus* proper, was a continuous speech delivered by Cicero, praising philosophy and exhorting his hearers to the pursuit of wisdom. We even know the opening words of Cicero's exordium, for they have been preserved by Augustine, *De Trin.*, XIII, 7, P. L. XLII, col. 1019: *Cicero . . . cum vellet in Hortensio dialogo ab aliqua re certa, de qua nullus ambigeret, sumere suae disputationis exordium, Beati certe, inquit, omnes esse volumus* (Frag. 36 Mueller, 59 Ruch).

The phrase, therefore, cited from Trebellius Pollio, *ad exemplum protreptici*, would seem to refer more to the form in which the second part of the *Hortensius* is cast or to the hortatory nature of the work as a whole. But does Trebellius mean that Cicero used Aristotle's *Protrepticus* as a model (as Bernays and Bywater maintained), or that he modelled his work on the Greek literary genre known as *protrepticus*? Ruch (p. 21) thinks the second alternative more likely; but he seems to be inconsistent on this point, for he appears elsewhere (see comments on Frag. 96 Mueller, below) to accept the first alternative.

That Aristotle's *Protrepticus* was Cicero's model is rather generally held, and this view has behind it the authority of such eminent scholars as Bywater (*Journal of Philology*, II [1869], pp. 55-69) and Jaeger (*Aristoteles* [Berlin, 1923], chap. IV). The theory is that a large portion of the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus was borrowed from Aristotle. From this it would follow that if there should be a close resemblance between a passage in Cicero's *Hortensius* and one in Iamblichus' *Protrepticus*, and if the passage in Iamblichus seemed to be written in the manner of Aristotle, we should be able to assign the passage in Iamblichus to the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. It was thus that a great portion of Aristotle's lost *Protrepticus* was reconstructed.

The bearing this has on the study of the *Hortensius* may be seen from the way in which the following fragment, for example, has been treated: *Vidit enim quod videndum fuit, adpendicem animi esse corpus, nihilque esse in eo magnum* (Frag. 96 Mueller, 86 Ruch). Plasberg (p. 77) says of this: *quae sententia repetita est a Platone vel Socrate*, and he refers to *Timaeus* 69D. Ruch (p. 156) comments thus: "L'idée provient du *Timée* 69D; mais la source de Cicéron est Aristote, d'après Jamblique, *Protr.* 8, p. 48, 7 Pist.: οὕτως ἔοικεν ἡ ψυχὴ διατεῖσθαι καὶ προσκεκολληθῆσθαι πᾶσι τοῖς αἰσθητικοῖς τοῦ σώματος μέλεσιν." This statement is indeed found in the fragments of Aristotle's *Protrepticus* as edited by Rose, and more recently by Ross; but an examination of the passage in which it occurs (Frag. 10b Ross, p. 41) reveals no evidence to show that Iamblichus took

it from the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle. The presumption that he did is apparently based on Bywater's theory concerning the general indebtedness of both the *Hortensius* of Cicero and the *Protrepticus* of Iamblichus to the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle.

But Bywater's theory has been examined recently by W. Gerson Rabinowitz, *Aristotle's Protrepticus and the Sources of Its Reconstruction*, I (Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Philol., XVI, no. 1 [Berkeley, 1957]), pp. 3-4, 93-4, and has been shown to be quite unsound. It is a pity that this monograph by Rabinowitz, which is a masterpiece of analysis and criticism, did not appear in time to influence Ruch's work. It should be read by anyone engaged in a serious study of either the *Hortensius* or the *Protrepticus*. It is interesting to note that Olof Gigon, "Cicero und Aristoteles," *Hermes*, LXXXVII (1959), pp. 143-62, without any apparent knowledge of the work of Rabinowitz, also questions the commonly accepted view. He admits that the *Hortensius* shows the influence of Aristotle but denies that Cicero's work as a whole and in its main arguments is based on the *Protrepticus*. He observes that the exchange between *Hortensius* and Cicero resembles more the *Gorgias* of Plato, and that even in Cicero's speech in the second part of the *Hortensius* there seems to be something of the scepticism of the Academy intermingled with Aristotelianism (pp. 154-5).

Much of Ruch's introductory matter may be passed over, but his treatment of the disappearance of the *Hortensius* calls for comment. This section (pp. 48-57) is, I believe, the least satisfactory in the whole book. It contains an impressive amount of citations from original sources and learned works, but the author does not seem to have examined this complicated material in a very critical manner.

Thus we are told (p. 48) that the *Hortensius* probably disappeared by reason of the efforts of pagans to destroy certain classical treatises that would seem to support Christian claims. This theory (proposed by an anonymous writer in *Rheinisches Museum* for 1842) is advanced with apparent approval in spite of the fact that it has just been stated that Martianus Capella (5th c.), Priscianus (6th c.), and Boethius (6th c.) knew the *Hortensius*; and it is difficult to understand how any pagans after the age of Boethius could have managed to get the book out of circulation. Ruch immediately recognizes a difficulty (p. 49) and even adduces another passage, this time from Maximus of Turin (5th c.), containing a quotation from the *Hortensius*; but he immediately throws doubt on the weight of this evidence by suggesting that Maximus was most probably quoting the *Hortensius* from Augustine. Yet even if we rule out the testimony of Maximus, what are we to say about the other three witnesses of the fifth and sixth centuries just referred to? Ruch does not consider the problem.

But as we move on we find that Ruch next (without any explicit rejection of the theory just proposed) puts forth a contradictory explanation. Here (p. 51) we are told that it was the Christians who destroyed (and deliberately destroyed) the *Hortensius*: orthodox believers considered such a pagan work, which had been given a very good press by St. Augustine, seductive and dangerous. This explanation is proposed *sans aucun doute*. Ruch has been led into this strange position by Mollweide, who published a series of six articles

(although Ruch refers to the first only) in *Wiener Studien*, XXXIII (1911) to XXXVII (1915). Mollweide there dealt with a Vatican manuscript of the ninth or tenth century containing a collection of Cicero's philosophical writings and other classical authors, compiled by the priest and scholar Hadoardus. This manuscript contains a passage from the *Hortensius*, the same passage that is cited by Augustine, *De Trin.*, XIV, 12. Did Hadoardus get the text from the original work of Cicero or from Augustine? He got it from Augustine, says Ruch. And to prove this he outlines the fantastic theory of Mollweide, according to which the sixth century saw the systematic destruction of many classical works (including the *Hortensius*). The monks of Bobbio, because of the shortage of parchment (and with no hostile purpose) are presumed to have helped in the work of the destruction of the Classics by producing many a palimpsest with a Christian work written over a pagan text. But the real enemy of classical literature is said to be Chilperic, king of the Franks, who by his "reforms" caused countless classical works to disappear throughout his realm. Ruch's acceptance of this story would lead one to believe that he has not seen the article by Charles H. Beeson, "The Collectaneum of Hadoard," *C. P.*, XL (1945), pp. 201-22, in which Mollweide's account is shown to be completely unreliable. We may well agree with Ruch in assuming that Hadoardus quoted from Augustine, but we had no need of such flimsy support for our opinion. *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget*. But it should be pointed out that in a footnote on p. 52 Ruch acknowledges certain objections against the theory he has adopted and expresses what appears to be regret over his acceptance of it. From this it would seem that the author changed his mind when it was too late to change the text of his work.

The difficulties in which Ruch got himself entangled here are due to the spirit of eclecticism that prompts him to take, if possible, something from nearly every opinion proposed on the problems that arise. With such a method it is only natural that he should on occasion be led unwittingly into inconsistencies and contradictions. Thus, for instance, we are told on p. 45 that the passage on the *summum bonum* in Book Three of the *Consolation* of Boethius seems to be inspired by the *Hortensius*, but on p. 135 we are given a statement from Jaeger (which is apparently accepted and approved) to the effect that this is not so.

In his arrangement of the fragments and his commentary on them, Ruch has made some noteworthy contributions. To this work he has brought an expert knowledge of the form and style of Cicero's dialogues, and he has been exceptionally diligent in searching out parallel passages in Cicero's works. He has thus been able to contribute many explanations (not always certain, but often probable) that escaped Plasberg. The arrangement and commentary are, to a large extent, based on Plasberg, but Ruch frequently goes beyond his predecessor, sometimes with happy results. He may be seen at his best in dealing with these three tantalizing fragments (pp. 63-7) :

Nam quod vereris, ne non conveniat nostris aetatibus ista oratio, quae spectet ad hortandum (Frag. 57 Mueller, 1 Ruch).

Qui cum hodie bellum cum mortuo gerant (Frag. 47 Mueller, 2 Ruch).

Qui cum publicas iniurias lente tulisset, suam non tulit (Frag. 86 Mueller, 3 Ruch).

To the untrained eye these bits would seem to contain no clues as to where they belonged. Plasberg, however, had assigned them to the preface, and Ruch agrees. But Ruch goes far beyond Plasberg in explaining how these would most naturally fit into the preface; and he argues that we have in them an indication that the preface touched on three themes that are found in nearly all of the prefaces to the philosophical dialogues: a justification of the dialogue itself, a defense of the principal speaker, and an allusion to the circumstances in which the author finds himself (p. 67). This reviewer felt that in these pages, more than anywhere else, Ruch was a perfect master of his subject. The reason for this is not far to seek, for the volume under review is the author's *thèse complémentaire*, supplementing his principal thesis, *Le Préambule dans les œuvres philosophiques de Cicéron: Essai sur la genèse et l'art du dialogue* (Paris, 1958).

But there are some interpretations for which no very convincing reasons are advanced. Frequently we find not a careful weighing of evidence but simply a display of learned and ingenious guessing. The handling of the following fragment may serve as an example: *Nihil tamen inesse* [al. *esse*] *quo* [al. *in quo*] *se animus excellens tolleretur* [al. *tollere*] (Frag. 62 Mueller, 78 Ruch). Plasberg put this among the fragments that he could not assign to any particular person or place. Ruch quotes Dienel's opinion, according to which Cicero is here talking about lyric poetry and saying that it has nothing in it to elevate the mind. But Ruch denies this explanation on the assumption that *tamen* supposes a previous *quamquam*; and he suggests that these words belong to Cicero's speech (the *protrepticus* proper), and that Cicero is saying that even a moderate pursuit of pleasure cannot elevate the mind. But I think a *quamquam* clause might be supplied just as readily with Dienel's reading of the text as with Ruch's. Both explanations are plausible, but each is only a guess. Perhaps Plasberg chose the better part when he decided not to busy himself about such matters when there is no evidence upon which to base an opinion. Among the other fragments for which Ruch bravely ventured an interpretation, though Plasberg could find none, these are noteworthy: 34 Mueller, 26 Ruch; 94 Mueller, 37 Ruch; 15 Mueller, 52 Ruch (see Plasberg, pp. 82-3).

Ruch's explanations are not always models of clarity; and he seems to be wide of the mark in his attempt to explain this statement: *Imbecillis autem est pudoris magister timor, qui si quando paululum aberravit, statim spe impunitatis exsultant* (Frag. 72 Mueller, 88 Ruch). Ruch's comment is: "L'idée est la suivante: la crainte ne suffit pas à détourner les hommes du mal: *timor non diuturnus magister officii* (*Phil.* 2, 90) . . ." Cicero, I believe, is merely saying that, in the case of those who are lacking in wisdom, fear is the thing that teaches them self-restraint, and that if fear withdraws but a step or two they become immediately irresponsible, confident that they will not be punished. In the case of the *imbecilli*, therefore, fear does suffice so long as it is present.

The bibliography, given on pp. 183-4, is extremely jejune. Many works used more than once in the course of the study are not listed.

This is the more regrettable because Ruch is sometimes exceptionally cryptic in his footnotes; as when, on p. 73, the reader is referred from the name of Helm in the text to the foot of the page where he finds this note: "1. Zwei Probleme . . .". Helm is not mentioned in the bibliography. On p. 41 there is a footnote giving what purports to be a brief bibliography on the early intellectual development of Augustine. This contains (besides an irrelevant mention of Jaeger's work on Aristotle) a number of older items that are of little importance today, and it fails to include the two most up-to-date and scholarly studies on the subject available at the time when Ruch was preparing his work for publication: Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1950), and John J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine* (London, 1954). Now, of course, one would have to add Maurice Testard, *Saint Augustin et Cicéron*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958), which went to press about the same time as Ruch's work.

There is a considerable lack of care in the transcription of passages from the sources. On pp. 42-3, in three passages quoted from the *Confessions* of Augustine, there are five inaccuracies; and on p. 99 four errors appear in a very short passage quoted from Boethius, *Cons.*, IV, pr. 4. On p. 106, a passage from Aug., *Contra Iulianum Pelag.*, IV, 15, 76, P. L. XLIV, col. 777, is mutilated almost beyond recognition. But Ruch has, as it were, made amends, for he has recently published an article on this passage, "'Consulares philosophi' chez Cicéron et chez saint Augustin," *Revue des études augustinienes*, V (1959), pp. 99-102, in which he not only straightens out the text but also throws considerable light on its meaning. It is unnecessary to list all such inaccuracies discovered (and they are many), but it is wise to warn the reader that he may have to be ready to check the sources quoted. In addition, there are many minor slips, due to hasty proof-reading no doubt, and these are far more numerous than one would expect in a scholarly work of this kind; but most of them will be readily detected.

It is a pity that the author did not include a table of concordances to enable the reader to refer from Mueller to Ruch and Ruch to Mueller. Not only is such a table lacking, but (as I have already pointed out) no such information is given in the body of the work with the individual fragments, nor are there references to the places where the fragments can be found in Plasberg. This reviewer can testify to the great inconvenience involved in any attempt to study this work with an eye on Mueller's text and Plasberg's commentary. One also misses an index. Such aids would have greatly enhanced the value of the book, especially since it is a work that will probably be more often consulted than read from cover to cover.

But on the whole, Ruch's book is praiseworthy and valuable. He would surely not expect his readers to agree with all the opinions he has proposed, but at least all scholars who are interested in this subject should be grateful for the abundance of source material he has gathered into the pages of this book and for the light he has so often shed on perplexing problems.

JOHN HAMMOND TAYLOR, S. J.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER NOVITIATE,
SHERIDAN, OREGON.

G. S. KIRK and J. E. RAVEN. *The Presocratic Philosophers. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts.* Cambridge, University Press, 1957. Pp. xi + 487. \$9.50.

The task of writing the history of Presocratic philosophy is a difficult, quite often treacherous, and most of the time frustrating one. From Aristotle to Theophrastus to Burnet and Jaeger the story of such undertakings demonstrates the complex nature of this field. It is for their success in simplifying this problem rather than for solving it that Kirk and Raven should be congratulated and their work commended. Their book is unquestionably a valuable contribution to classical studies and no interpreter of early Greek philosophy can afford to ignore it. It is the only study that this reviewer knows where the distinguishable, though admittedly not always separable, questions, what are the *ipsissima verba*, how can they be meaningfully restated, and what critical labels may be reasonably hung on them, are kept distinct whenever this is historically desirable and correlated wherever this is logically required. The result is salutary. Philological questions and other related matters of textual criticism are economically presented and competently handled; historical issues regarding the essentials of each doctrine along with its conceptual setting are incisively and convincingly reconstructed; and, lastly, the logical problem concerning the significance and implications of the key notions of the period are suggestively reformulated if not always successfully solved. The authors, known from their earlier works on Heraclitus¹ and on the Pythagoreans and Eleatics,² respectively, have combined their talents to tackle a bigger problem, and their venture has proved fruitful and original.

Kirk and Raven divide their study into roughly four sections, presumably corresponding to the four crucial stages in the development of Presocratic thought. After the inevitable preliminaries on the scantiness and the deceptiveness of the available evidence (pp. 1-7), the subject is introduced with a long chapter on the forerunners of what is traditionally regarded as the beginning of Greek philosophy (pp. 8-72); there follows a section concerned with the Ionians (pp. 73-215), and one devoted to an examination of the doctrines of the Italian schools (pp. 216-318); the study concludes with a detailed account of the post-Parmenidean systems (pp. 320-445). Standard editions are used for all quotations, and even on controversial passages purely textual criticism is avoided or confined to footnotes. All fragments are translated, annotated, and illustrated with further references. Primary emphasis is given to a balanced exposition of the main tenets of the Presocratics, and all other arguments are subordinated to the attainment of this goal. In no place are the difficult problems of reconstruction and documentation despaired of or flippantly dismissed; however, although pedantry is shunned, undue confidence in the suggestive solutions is never displayed. The book is written in a pleasant style, and the continuity of the central argument is preserved without any distortion of facts.

The essentially novel feature of the work is this: Whereas most

¹ G. S. Kirk, *Heraclitus, the Cosmic Fragments* (Cambridge 1954).

² J. E. Raven, *Pythagoreans and Eleatics* (Cambridge, 1948).

of the classical treatments of the subject (e.g. Burnet,³ Robin,⁴ Cornford,⁵ Tannery,⁶ Jaeger⁷) primarily pivot on philological and historical considerations, Kirk and Raven try to support many of their crucial arguments (e.g. their criticism of Theophrastus' account of Anaximander's ἀπειρον [pp. 105-7]) with logical observations. Whereas other commentators are preoccupied with matters of historical authenticity (e.g. Cherniss) and often ignore or pay lip-service to important conceptual distinctions, Kirk and Raven recognize the importance of such distinctions and ground many of their arguments on their implications.⁸ On account of this new approach, although the same old material is covered in the same old order, it is chiefly the continuity, development, and recurrence of certain ideas that are closely investigated rather than the cogency of any one particular system. This shifting of emphasis is welcome for, even though no startling discoveries have been made, a host of new questions is introduced that requires new conceptions and sharper analytical tools.

In the first chapter an attempt is made to show that a close examination of the pre-Ionian cosmogonies (e.g. Hesiod's or Pherecydes') reveals a kind of thinking about the world that challenges simple characterizations; for it is neither distinctly philosophical (in the later sense of this term) nor merely commonsensible. In so far as those doctrines "were . . . sometimes directed towards an explanation of the world as a whole, especially of how it came to be what it is; and they reveal on occasion a method not essentially different from that of Thales and the first Ionian philosophers" (p. 72), the problem of labeling them is a hard one. This was not adequately appreciated by the earlier historians; but soon after the pioneer work on the background of these ideas by such scholars as Rohde,⁹ Cornford,¹⁰ Guthrie,¹¹ Dodds,¹² and Nilsson,¹³ its implications became obvious. To be sure, a line can be drawn between the Ionians and their predecessors, but this must be done very carefully and with full knowledge of the consequences. As their contribution, Kirk and Raven seem to suggest that, in spite of all the apparently mythopoeic and anthropocentric features of the early cosmogonies, in so far as their stories were expressly intended as answers to the problem of the genesis, constitution, and ultimate fate of the world, they should not be regarded as mere plays of poetic imagination; for they have also a rational-explanatory value. Most of the earlier commentators overlooked the significance of the extended uses of some of the key terms of the cosmogonists and, as a result, they failed to explain the implications of many notable conceptual shifts re-

³ *Early Greek Philosophy*, 4th ed. (London, 1930).

⁴ *Greek Thought*, English trans. (London, 1928).

⁵ *Principium Sapientiae* (Cambridge, 1952).

⁶ *Pour l'Histoire de la Science Hellène*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1930).

⁷ *The Theology of Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford, 1947).

⁸ E.g. pp. 255, 292, 372.

⁹ *Psyche*, English trans. (London, 1925).

¹⁰ Above, n. 5.

¹¹ *The Greeks and their Gods* (London, 1950).

¹² *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951).

¹³ *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1955).

fleeted in such thinking. Kirk and Raven rightly abandon this uncritical attitude; but, it must be said, this by itself does not constitute an adequate treatment of the historical problem. They seem to suggest that what is really missing in the early cosmologists is a consistently adhered to rational explanation; but nowhere do they explain the meaning and logical characteristics of this sort of approach. Undeniably they are searching for their answers in the right direction; but what kind of thing they hope to discover there, and on what grounds they could attribute it significantly to these thinkers, is something they never make clear. This can be seen in their ambiguous remarks on Hesiod's peculiar use of the concept of *χάσμα* (pp. 30 ff.); and also in their observations on Pherecydes' attitude toward the traditional stories of the gods (p. 71). Contrary to their hope, the impression left is that the concepts of "rational" and "rationalistic" cannot serve as ground for the distinction of the early cosmogonists from the Ionians because the meaning of these terms is as obscure as the historical periods they purport to delineate.

In their discussion of the Ionians, the suggestiveness as well as the limitations of this approach become much more evident. Kirk and Raven realize that, in a sense, anything that can be said about the Milesians, Xenophanes, and Heraclitus has been repeatedly stated and restated; and also most of the classical controversies regarding the reliability of Aristotle and the Peripatetic tradition have already been exhaustively explored and questioned. The only thing that has not yet been done is to discover an explanation of the logical development of these doctrines. For it is undeniable that, although the *ἰδωρ* of Thales, the *ἀπείρον* of Anaximander, and the *ἀήρ* of Anaximenes are in many respects similar notions, the wide variety of purposes for which these notions are used indicates important differences in their respective "logics." Accordingly, what is the nature of the differences becomes the crucial question in these discussions. Kirk and Raven quite rightly observe that for all the Milesians these key concepts have primarily a designative use (i. e. they point to some primal concrete substance), but aside from this they also notice that these same concepts have other uses which cannot be easily described or characterized; they are closely related not only to concepts referring to the genesis of the world, but also to concepts connected with the explanation of the structure of the world, or our knowledge of it, or our predictions concerning its ultimate fate. Thus Thales' views, though apparently commonsensible, trade on hard-to-conceive extensions of common sense; similarly, Anaximander's concepts, though obviously technical, retain some contact with ordinary experience; and, likewise, Anaximenes' ideas, though undeniably ordinary, are used in an extra-ordinary ("scientific") fashion. What does all this mean? In what sense is there a logical advance traceable here? Kirk and Raven never answer these questions. Nonetheless, all along we are lead to believe that we are witnessing here the birth and development of "rationality."

The difficulties inherent in clarifying this claim are as sharply felt when we turn to their discussion of Heraclitus and the Pythagoreans. Their treatment of the former's concepts, for example, of *πῦρ* and *μέτρον*, though quite incisive and historically sensible, sheds no new light on the "dynamic" conception of the relation between Change and Permanence. Similarly, it is correctly stressed that the Pytha-

gorean pluralism, though reminiscent of certain Ionian tendencies, must be distinguished from them because of its peculiar reliance on mathematical concepts; and again it is justly pointed out (p. 256) that the strange combination of mathematical with physical notions and of geometrical with empirical concepts derives from inevitable confusion of the *unit* in Arithmetic with the *point* in Geometry, with (what was later called by Aristotle) τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄντων. But, now, does that indicate adequately the admittedly novel way of looking at the world? To realize that ἀριθμοί, when associated with musical scales and "harmony," do one sort of thing, when related to the genesis of the world do another thing, and when identified with the structure of the world function in a distinctly different fashion—all these are extremely important observations and help to give us a clearer idea of the consequences of the "mathematization of Physics." But obviously this is not an account of the history of the Pythagoreans' conceptual troubles, nor a logical explanation of the respect in which they made an advance toward a "higher rationality."

In discussing the Eleatics, Kirk and Raven shrewdly observe that, aside from the novelty of the deductive method, Parmenides' force and originality indicate that an account of the world may not start with an *assumption* of its existence; for its existence is in need of proof too. This is a good point and proves especially valuable when the relation between the *Way of Truth* and the *Way of Opinion* is to be clarified. They quite aptly explain that the two poems are not incompatible with each other so long as the latter is never associated with existential propositions and the former with empirical ones. But having said all this, one wonders why they did not go a little further in their summing up of Parmenides and observe that the latter's "logicizing" of Physics and separation of ontology from experience caused a crisis in "rational thinking" that necessitated a radical conceptual overhaul. To be sure, their remarks on Zeno (pp. 290-7) show how his attacks on the notion of the indivisible unit and infinitely divisible extension aggravated the whole situation, thereby making any resort to experience pointless. But this was only a further complication. What is interesting about the Eleatic criticism is that no one after it, neither Empedocles nor Anaxagoras nor the Atomists, attempted to reinstate "rationality" in its old forms. They had to devise new conceptual schemes and re-allocate the facts of experience according to new rules. This, however, could not be described either as a movement toward "rationality" nor as one away from "rationality." For obviously it is nothing more than a re-examination of the critical consequences of "rationality." A closer look at Anaxagoras' σπέρματα and μοῖραι and Leucippus' ἄτομα further corroborates this point. Once physical questions have been distinguished from purely formal questions and the problem of the genesis and the structure of the world has been reformulated, it is not so important to know the *sources* of our knowledge as to know the exact *nature* of the objects of such knowledge. It is more because of this, I think, than because of any real desire to answer Zeno that such great care is shown by Anaxagoras and the Atomists in characterizing their key concepts and developing their theories without especial concern for consistency. But to acknowledge this is not like saying that "Anaxagoras . . . is striving . . . to imagine and describe a truly incorporeal entity" (p. 374).

The following minor slips may be a source of confusion: p. 250, line 18 for 'abstract' read 'concrete'; p. 266, line 11 for 'truthful validity' read 'truth or validity.'

The book is admirably indexed and beautifully produced on excellent paper.

PETER DIAMADOPOULOS.

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND.

FRITZ M. HEICHELHEIM. *An Ancient Economic History from the Palaeolithic Age to the Migrations of the Germanic, Slavic, and Arabic Nations, Volume I. Revised and Complete English Edition.* Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V., 1958. Pp. xi + 542. 42.50 Dfl. (bound).

Twenty years ago this important book made its first appearance under the title *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*. In the interval the author has made his home in Toronto, and the second edition appears, appropriately, in English. The translation is identified, both on the title page and in the Preface, as the work of the author's student, Mrs. Joyce Stevens. The five chapters contained in this first volume constitute one third of the whole book; an accompanying leaflet announces that the remaining two volumes are scheduled for appearance in 1958 and 1959, respectively.

The reader will want to know, first, where the two editions differ in content. This is quickly told. In the English edition the Introduction has been partly rewritten, and is a rather better statement in its new, somewhat shortened form. In Chapter V, which deals with the period ca. 1100-560 B. C., § 1 on "The Transition to Iron and its Economic Consequences" has been expanded by about two pages, with greater emphasis on the role of the Hittites in particular; and § 3.A.a, "Foreign Trade," has about a dozen small additions ranging in length from a clause to a whole paragraph, and totaling a page and a half. The greatest amount of rewriting is in the footnotes, which, recast and brought up to date bibliographically, are expanded from 164 to 248 pages. The rest, though interspersed with numerous small revisions or additions, remains essentially the same.

It is therefore unnecessary to restate here at length the views set forth in these chapters, especially as they are ably summarized by the late Allan Chester Johnson in his review of the German edition in this Journal (LXII [1941], pp. 361-3). Very briefly, then, Heichelheim stresses (Ch. III) man's advances in the neolithic age to the pattern of peasant economy which remained basic in western civilization till the technological revolution of the nineteenth century. Above all, it was in the neolithic food-producing culture that capital made its appearance, in the primitive form of cattle and surplus food-stocks. The use of exchangeable goods as money led to the city civilizations of the Ancient Orient (Ch. IV), with their planned state economy and their specialization of occupation and status. The coming of the iron age gave rise to "a higher standard of city civilization than had been possible for Ancient Oriental societies The time for a new and glorious age had come in which free indi-

vidualism and its creations had a fundamentally decisive role to play for millennia" (p. 194). Thus the Greeks were able to break away from the centralized collectivism of the preceding age, and with the introduction of coinage raised foreign and local trade above the level of commodity exchanges.

The reader of Heichelheim's work cannot fail to be impressed, first of all, by its scope, not only in time but in geographical extent as well: in addition to the lands traditionally dealt with in our ancient history, India and China are repeatedly brought into the picture, and the sections on prehistory include the findings of anthropologists in the far-flung reaches of the globe. Moreover, Heichelheim's constant concern is not simply to record the evidence but also to interpret it, with particular emphasis on connections, influences, and continuity; in other words, he offers us not merely a compendium, but also a synthesis. These virtues are, however, accompanied by certain shortcomings. Controversy attends many of the problems with which Heichelheim deals, and it is good that he does not hesitate to take a position, but he does not always make clear that other views exist. Moreover, the position taken is frequently extreme, the language frequently extravagant. This is especially noticeable in the case of what may be termed the author's guiding principle. To Heichelheim, a loyal disciple of Rostovtzeff, planned economy is a basic evil, laissez faire a basic good, in human civilization. The disinterested reader may regard this premise inspired by modern history as being of limited usefulness in illuminating the economic development of ancient societies. If guidance is to be found in modern history, it cannot be found in western capitalism alone; current events in what we call "underdeveloped areas" surely sound a warning against regarding individualism as providing the only avenue to economic advance.

The typography of this volume is handsome, the font large and easy to read. The translation has the merit of rejecting slavish adherence to the sentence structure and paragraphing of the German original. But the frequent awkwardness of the translation is exasperating to the reader, and when compounded by the woefully inadequate proofreading it produces confusion. Let us not be hypercritical in these matters. No one is really troubled (in a work which is, after all, not belletristic) by a literal translation of unidiomatic ring so long as the sense is clear. Thus, we readily comprehend that "Young Palaeolithic" (pp. 9 ff.) stands for what we normally term "Lower Palaeolithic." (But "Palaeolithicum" as a noun is a little more disconcerting.) And the literal rendering of the German phrase "in erster Linie" causes but a moment's pause when we read (p. 479): "Professor B. Laum . . . has propounded the revolutionary theory that early Greek money . . . served religious purposes in the first line." But how long will it take to figure out the meaning of "Collectivist, cum grano salis autarch, if not socialist states and societies developed too" (p. 2)? Or take the following example (p. 209): "We now know much, in addition to the Old Testament, about the royal court of Achab or a later king of Israel through Ostraka of Samaria, which reveal the part played by the strong Phoenician immigration of this time, and inform as about taxes in kind, particularly on wine and oil, which flowed to this royal court from all parts of the country and were often given away again in the

form of royal benefices." This, I take it, was meant to read as follows (I leave aside the question of stylistic inelegance): "We now know much, in addition to <what we learn from> the Old Testament, about the royal court of Ahab or a later king of Israel through ostraka from Samaria, which reveal the part played by the strong Phoenician immigration of this time, and inform us about taxes in kind, particularly in ¹ wine and oil," etc.

With sentences like this last the reading of the book becomes, it is apparent, a veritable obstacle course. Furthermore, the reader finds himself wondering whether he can rely on the English to give him an accurate rendering of the German text, or whether on points where it is crucial for him to know the author's meaning he must verify it in the original version. And if he finds a discrepancy between the two texts, how is he to decide whether the discrepant English represents the author's current intention or is merely the result of linguistic or mechanical error? For example, on p. 286, on the subject of Solon's legislation we read, "The price of land itself must have fallen as a result of the maximum limit on the sale of land." But what Solon limited (if the legislation was indeed Solonian, which many scholars doubt) was not the amount of land that might be sold, but the amount that an individual might acquire (cf. p. 283). Where the English translation has "sale," the German original correctly has "Erwerb." Since the English edition has the author's imprimatur, we must assume that he approved, if he did not initiate, the change; if so, his decision was as unfortunate as it was unnecessary.

It is pointless to multiply examples: misprints and infelicities strike the reader on almost every page. Final responsibility for the text and its proofreading rests with the author. By the same token, the publisher has the responsibility to provide the services of a copy editor adequate to the task. It is to be hoped that the erratic qualities that so impair the usefulness of the first volume will be called to the attention of the publisher in time to eliminate these defects in Volumes II and III.

NAPHTALI LEWIS.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE.

RICHARD L. BOWEN, JR. and FRANK P. ALBRIGHT. *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia, Volume II*. With contributions by Berta Segall, Joseph Ternbach, A. Jamme, W. F., Howard Comfort, Gus W. Van Beek. Foreword by Wendell Phillips. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958. Pp. xvii + 315; 214 pls.; 1 map. \$10.00.

In 24 B. C. Augustus' legate, Aelius Gallus turned his route-worn legionaries back from the walls of Mârib, a thousand miles and six months south of his base at Leuce Come (Wejh). Sabaeen prisoners told him that he was then but two days' march from the country where incense grew. He may or may not have known that fellow

¹ Note the difference that this little word makes!

countrymen had already, in person or through middlemen, forestalled him and that the tables of Timna' in the land of myrrh just beyond his grasp were decked with products of the Empire. Whether or not Gallus knew that the precious gum had brought more than gold from the West to its producers, the labors of the American Foundation for the Study of Man have established the fact beyond cavil and have added another to the number of provinces of "Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers."

The impact of the incense-hungry Graeco-Roman world on this remote and fabulous region has hitherto been conjecturally gauged from its coinages in imitation of Athenian new-style issues and from sporadic bronzes which have found their way out of Sana'a and Aden. It has now been unequivocally attested by field work, which has not only detected the traces of the plantations of "Gebbanitic" myrrh but has brought to light in the capital of ancient Qatabân western sigillata, glazed ware, and glass. We are now assured, moreover, that the Augustan Prefect of Egypt and the Augustan traffickers in aromatics were treading in the footsteps of Ptolemaic forerunners, who had brought to Arabia Felix new themes and new models for its art of sculpture in bronze. The art itself, as the finds from Mârib show, goes back at least to the example of Near Eastern sculptors of the early iron age. Near Eastern stone-masons of the same time inspired the masonry styles of Saba' and Qatabân.

These discoveries, touching the classical world and set forth or enlarged upon by the contributions of Comfort and Van Beek, Segall, Ternbach and Jamme, are not, however, the first concern of the volume at hand. They are incidental to the systematic description of the results of the Foundation's pioneering work in Aden Protectorate and Yemen from 1950 to 1952. This first installment is devoted chiefly to the surface exploration of Wadi Beihân and the study of its ancient ecology and to the excavations, begun but unseasonably interrupted, at Haram Bilqis, the 'Awwâm temple of Mârib. Volumes to come will deal with the sounding made at Hajar bin Humeid in Wadi Beihân, with the excavations there at Timna' and its necropolis, Heid bin Aqîl, with the inscriptions of Mârib and with the excavations at Khôr Rôri in Dhofâr. The journal of the expedition has already been made available by Wendell Phillips in his *Qataban and Sheba*.

Richard LeBaron Bowen's investigation of the ancient irrigation systems of Wadi Beihân is a striking achievement. He has recognized in the deeply dissected beds of silt and confirmed by the excavation of sluices, canal-embankments, and spillways the existence of a complex and studied method of utilizing the freshet-water in the dry valley. Unlike irrigation by dam-impounded water, by the canalization of perennial flows, or by the tapping of wells, it brought fertility by the even distribution of the fresh water and fresh silt of each periodic flash-flood over as wide an expanse as possible. Bowen is able to study the history of this unique and hitherto unidentified system from the late second millennium onward by the stratification of its deposits of silt. He shows that it represents a special adaptation to the peculiar climatic and geographic conditions of South Arabia, over which he finds it spread, making possible the agricultural base of its fabled "felicity." The prehistoric experi-

ences which may be presumed to lie back of it must henceforth be reckoned with in any account of the origins of settled life in the Near East.

The vast oval precinct of the moon-god near Mârib is probably the best known of the surviving buildings of the enigmatic architecture of South Arabia. Yet it had been briefly visited and sketchily described by only a handful of Europeans in the century and more before the arrival of the Foundation's party. In the few weeks at their disposal Frank P. Albright and his harassed band of assistants made a sampling of the secrets it might yield under more favorable circumstances. Their survey of the whole precinct and clearing of its entrance-court will be a landmark in the recovery of the past of Yemen. Albright's circumstantial account of what he was able to uncover and record is our first reliable description of a major monument of a powerful and sophisticated architecture, which still defies classification in conventional terms.

The American Foundation for the Study of Man has amply earned the support of those who are listed at the end of this volume and has deserved well of all students of the ancient world whether by enlarging our classical horizons or by putting flesh on the epigraphical skeleton that was ancient Arabia Felix.

FRANK E. BROWN.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*. Vols. VII and VIII: *Pagan Symbols in Judaism*. Pp. xviii + 239 and xii + 282. New York, Pantheon Books, 1958. (*Bollingen Series*, XXXVII.)

Again there have appeared two volumes of this monumental work, and again I have been asked by the editor of this Journal to review them. "Pagan Symbols in Judaism" is the collective title of these volumes, and it describes precisely what the editor wants to prove: the influence of pagan thought on the Jewish world and Jewish art of late antiquity. And the author, as in the earlier volumes, passes in review object after object, and asks continually: where is this object found in Jewish art, where in Egyptian art, where in Near Eastern art, and so on. What significance do these objects gain in the art of those pagan civilizations and, consequently, in Jewish art? He begins with the bull and the lion; the tree, Victory and her crown follow, to be succeeded by miscellaneous divine symbols, symbols primarily erotic, and finally psychopomps and astronomical symbols. All these are examined minutely, with complete mastery over the diverse materials and the expansive literature, and with an abundance of illustrations. The reader can only marvel at the display of such erudition.

As far as the explanation of Jewish works of art is concerned, one is, of course, free to doubt whether the author's method achieves the correct result in every single instance. Take, for example, the interpretation of the two lions which, on some Jewish gold glasses,

flank the Torah ark. Goodenough interprets them, by pagan analogy, as symbols of future life. The present writer would be inclined to see in them guardians of the sacred objects, successors of the Cherubim which, in Solomon's Temple, guarded the entrance to the ark of the covenant. The depicting of Cherubim was not permitted in later Judaism; therefore they were replaced by lions, with which the Jews were familiar from the throne of Solomon, where, too, they stood as guards. In this case, then, Jewish art sought its own past rather than a pagan present,—which is hardly astonishing, as the Jews had always had a profound reverence for the Bible.

Another doubt could be raised which, indeed, the present writer raised previously when reviewing the prior volumes: does Goodenough, at times, see too much in Jewish art? Moreover, could not what he interprets as symbol have arisen solely from a desire for decoration? Goodenough repeatedly argues this point in these two volumes. But he no more cedes his original position than the writer of this review would move from his. To take, once more, an example: the floor mosaic of the synagogue at Hamman-Lif (Africa). The synagogue is of the broadhouse type: there are three panels from left to right. The middle one is filled with objects which could certainly be interpreted by the symbolical method. The two side panels with garlands and numerous animals figured on them would seem to the reviewer to be of only decorative significance. The middle panel, mostly devoid of people, was to be viewed freely and awaken religious feelings. The two side panels were trodden by worshippers: the wider one by men, the narrower by women. And it would be unseemly to have religious pictures trampled on.

In the middle panel of this floor mosaic we see a wheel which Goodenough interprets, probably correctly, as a light symbol. But is the same or a similar interpretation in order when dealing with a rosette, simply because it, too, is round? Such rosettes abound on ossuaries, those caskets of wood or stone to house the bones of people who found their last repose in Jerusalem. The artisans who created these containers adhered strictly to the biblical prohibition against pictorial art, but wishing, on the other hand, to render the surfaces more pleasing, beset them with rosettes.

In the synagogue of Dura Europos there is, close to the floor, a mural frieze consisting of ever repeated animals, masks, and geometric designs. Goodenough interprets these objects as symbols, basing himself on similar symbols in pagan civilizations, whereas the present writer would ascribe to them merely decorative significance.

Accounting for this divergence of opinion in general, one has to note that the author of this work, one of the leading experts in the field of Hellenistic Judaism, approaches the subject from the standpoint of the philosophy and religion of that period, and is therefore inclined to view everything from this standpoint. The writer of this review, on the other hand, is an art historian who, with an insight into the history of art, above all of folk art, is aware how closely, at times, meaningful content and the purely decorative adjoin.

FRANZ LANDSBERGER.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all pertaining to the classical field are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

André (J.). Notes de lexicographie botanique grecque. Paris, *Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion*, 1958. Pp. 76.

Ardizzoni (Anthos). Apollonio Rodio, Le Argonautiche, Libro III. Testo, traduzione e commentario. Bari, *Adriatica Editrice*, 1958. Pp. xxvii + 255.

Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano (Sulmona, Maggio 1958), Vols. I and II. Rome, *Istituto di Studi Romani Editore*, 1959. Pp. 288; 420.

Bailey (D. R. Shackleton). Towards a Text of Cicero's Ad Atticum. New York, *Cambridge Univ. Press*, 1960. Pp. ix + 104.

Barbu (N. I.). Aspecte din viata Romană în scrisorile lui Cicero. *Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romine*, 1959. Pp. 197. (*Biblioteca Clasica*, I.)

Boas (George). Some Assumptions of Aristotle. Philadelphia, *American Philosophical Society*, 1959. Pp. 98. (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, XLIX, Part 6.)

Böhme (Robert). Bühnenbearbeitung Äschyleischer Tragödien. 2 vols. Basel and Stuttgart, *Benno Schwabe & Co. Verlag*, 1959. Pp. 139; 160.

Boulanger (André) and Willeumier (Pierre). Cicéron, Discours, Tome XIX: Philippiques I à IV. Texte établi et traduit. Paris, *Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres"*, 1959. Pp. 200; pp. 54-200 double. (*Budé Collection*.)

Carnoy (A.). Dictionnaire étymologique des noms grecs de plantes. Louvain, *Publications Universitaires*, 1959. Pp. xi + 277. (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 46.)

Cary (M.) and Haerhoff (T. J.). Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World. New York, *Barnes & Noble, Inc.*, 1959. Pp. x + 355; 12 pls.; 4 maps. \$3.50.

Chapouthier (Fernand) and Méridier (Louis). Euripide, Tome VI: Oreste. Texte établi et annoté par F. Chapouthier et traduit par L. Méridier. Paris, *Société d'Éditions "Les Belles Lettres"*, 1959. Pp. 101; pp. 30-101 double. (*Budé Collection*.)

Clausen (W. V.). A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae. New York, *Oxford Univ. Press*, 1959. Pp. xiv + 198. (*Oxford Classical Texts*.)

Corbett (P. E.). The Sculpture of the Parthenon. Baltimore, *Penguin Books*, 1959. Pp. 39; 40 pls.

Couch (Herbert Newell). Cicero on the Art of Growing Old. A Translation and Subjective Evaluation of the Essay entitled "Cato the Elder on Old Age." Providence, R. I., *Brown Univ. Press*; Ilfracombe, A. H. Stockwell, Ltd., 1959. Pp. xv + 112.

De Lacy (Phillip H.) and Einarson (Benedict). Plutarch's Moralia: VII 523 c-612 b. With an English Translation. Cambridge, *Harvard Univ. Press*; London, *William Heinemann, Ltd.*, 1959. Pp. xvi + 618. (*Loeb Classical Library*.)

Fontenrose (Joseph). Python. A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins. Berkeley and Los Angeles, *Univ. of California Press*, 1959. Pp. xviii + 616; 28 illus.; 3 maps. \$10.00.

Giancotti (Francesco). Il preludio di Lucrezio. Messina and Firenze, *Casa Editrice G. D'Anna*, 1959. Pp. 332. (*Biblioteca di Cultura Contemporanea*, LXIII.)

Hammond (Mason). *The Antonine Monarchy. American Academy in Rome*, 1959. Pp. xi + 527. (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, XIX.)

Heubeck (Alfred). *Lydiaka. Untersuchungen zu Schrift, Sprache und Götternamen der Lyder. Erlangen*, 1959. Pp. 90. (*Erlanger Forschungen*, Reihe A: *Geisteswissenschaften*, Band 9.)

Hobbes: Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, Vols. I and II. The Thomas Hobbes Translation Edited by David Grene with an Introduction by Bertrand de Jouvenel. Ann Arbor, *Univ. of Michigan Press*, 1959. Pp. xx + 307; 311-590.

Hoogma (R. P.). *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica. Eine Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der metrisch-technischen Grundsätze der Entlehnung. Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company*, 1959. Pp. xxiii + 373.

Johansen (Holger Friis). *General Reflection in Tragic Rhesis. A Study of Form. Copenhagen, Ejnar Munksgaard*, 1959. Pp. 198. Da. Kr. 30.

Kamerbeek (J. C.). *The Plays of Sophocles, II: The Trachiniae. Leiden, E. J. Brill*, 1959. Pp. x + 256.

Lana (Italo). *I progimnasmì di Elio Teone, Volume primo: La storia del testo. Torino, Università di Torino, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, 1959. Pp. 174; 5 pls.

Leumann (Manu). *Kleine Schriften zur lateinischen, griechischen, indogermanischen und allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft. Herausgegeben zum siebzigsten Geburtstag am 6. Oktober 1959. Zürich and Stuttgart, Artemis Verlag*, 1959. Pp. xii + 434; 1 pl.

Luck (George). *The Latin Love Elegy. London, Methuen and Co., Ltd.*, 1959. Pp. 182.

Manni (Eugenio). *Introduzione allo studio della storia greca e romana. Seconda edizione riveduta e aggiornata. Palumbo*, 1959. Pp. 244.

Mattes (Wilhelm). *Odysseus bei den Phäaken. Kritisches zur Homeranalyse. Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch Verlag*, 1958. Pp. 171.

Moorhouse (A. C.). *Studies in the Greek Negatives. Cardiff, Univ. of Wales Press*, 1959. Pp. xi + 163.

Moulinier (Louis). *Quelques hypothèses relatives à la géographie d'Homère dans l'Odyssée. Éditions Ophrys*, 1958. Pp. 132; 2 maps. (*Centre d'Études et de Recherches Helléniques de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Aix-en-Provence*, 2.)

Mugler (Charles). *Dictionnaire historique de la terminologie géométrique des Grecs. Introduction, A-K, pp. 1-272; Seconde Partie, pp. 273-456. Paris, Éditions Gauthier-Villars, Librairie C. Klincksieck*, 1958. (*Études et Commentaires*, XXVIII and XXIX.)

Page (Denys L.). *History and the Homeric Iliad. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press*, 1959. Pp. vi + 350; 2 illus.; maps and plans. (*Sather Classical Lectures*, XXXI.)

Perret (Jacques). *Horace. Paris, Hatier*, 1959. Pp. 255. (*Connaissance des Lettres*, 53.)

Popp (Harald). *Die Einwirkung von Vorzeichen, Opfern und Festen auf die Kriegführung der Griechen im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch*, 1957. Pp. 144. (*Diss.*)

Poultney (James Wilson). *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium. American Philological Association*, 1959. Pp. xvi + 333; 7 pls. (*Philological Monographs*, XVIII.)

Rees (B. R.), Bell (H. I.), Barns (J. W. B.). *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F. S. A., Volume II. Dublin, Hodges Figgis and Co., Ltd.*, 1959. Pp. xiv + 209; 46 pls.

Ross (W. D.). *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica. Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford Univ. Press*, 1959. Pp. xiii + 206. \$4.00.

Van Thiel (Helmut). Die Rezension λ des Pseudo-Kallisthenes. Bonn, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, 1959. Pp. 79. (*Habelts Dissertationsdrucke. Reihe Klassische Philologie*, Heft 3.)

Verpeaux (J.). Nicéphore Choumnos. Homme d'état et humaniste Byzantin (ca. 1250/1255-1327). Préface de R. Guiland. Paris, Editions A. et J. Picard & Cie, 1959. Pp. 216.

Vian (Francis). Histoire de la tradition manuscrite de Quintus de Smyrne. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1959. Pp. 131; 4 pls. (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Clermont*, deuxième série, Fasc. VII.)

Warner (Rex), translator. Three Great Plays of Euripides: Medea, Hippolytus, Helen. New York, New American Library, 1958. Pp. 192. (*Mentor Classic*.)

Watt (W. S.), ed. M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae, Vol. III: Ad Quintum fratrem, Ad M. Brutum, Fragmenta epistularum. Accedunt Commentariolum petitionis et pseudo-Ciceronis Epistula ad Octavianum. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1958. Pp. vi + 231. (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*.)

Webster (T. B. L.). From Mycenae to Homer. A Study in Early Greek Literature and Art. London, Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1958. Pp. xvi + 312; 38 illus.

Wehrli (Fritz). Die Schule des Aristoteles, Heft X: Hieronymos von Rhodos, Kritolaos und seine Schüler, Rückblick: der Peripatos in vorchristlicher Zeit, Register. Basel and Stuttgart, Benno Schwabe & Co. Verlag, 1959. Pp. 200.

Weil (Gotthold). Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. Pp. 134.

Wheelwright (Philip). Heraclitus. Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1959. Pp. viii + 181. \$4.50.

Whitman (Cedric H.). Homer and the Heroic Tradition. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1958. Pp. xii + 365. \$6.75.

Wistrand (Erik). Horace's Ninth Epode and its Historical Background. Göteborg, 1958. Pp. 61. (*Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia*, VIII.)

Woodcock (E. C.). A New Latin Syntax. Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1959. Pp. xxiv + 267.

Woodhead (A. G.). The Study of Greek Inscriptions. Cambridge, University Press, 1959. Pp. xi + 139. \$3.75.

Young (Arthur M.). Legend Builders of the West. Pittsburgh, Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1958. Pp. 255; 12 illus. \$4.00.

Zafropulo (Jean). Vox Zenonis. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1958. Pp. 183. (*Budé Collection*.)